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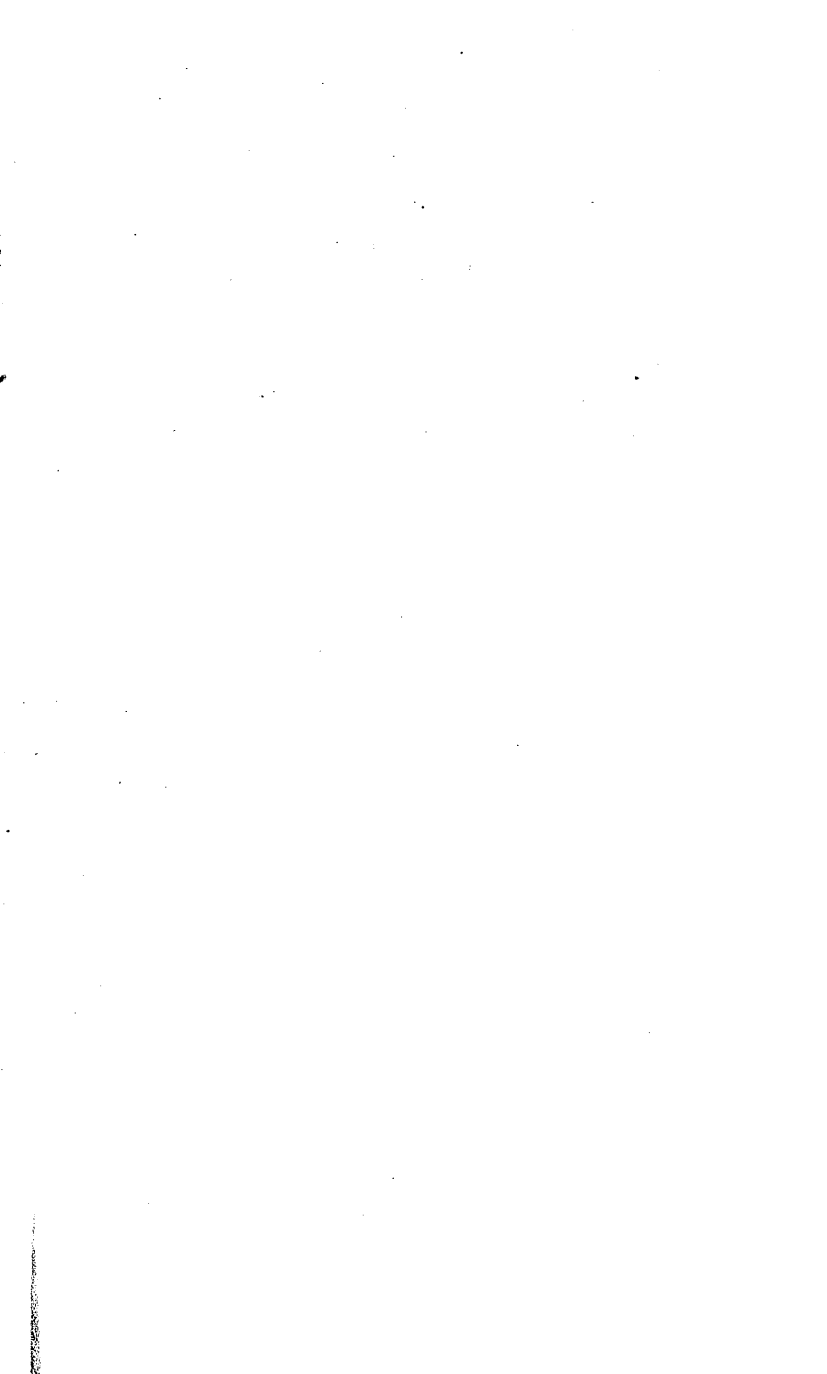
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February, 1905

7

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

VOLUME XXV., SECTION C, No. 7

NEWPORT J. D. WHITE

LIBRI SANCTI PATRICII

THE LATIN WRITINGS OF ST. PATRICK

MS

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

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„	II. (1840-1844)	„	II. „ „
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VII.

LIBRI SANCTI PATRICII:

THE LATIN WRITINGS OF SAINT PATRICK.

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, TRANSLATION, AND NOTES,

By NEWPORT J. D. WHITE, D.D.,

Keeper of Primate Marsh's Library, Dublin, and Assistant Lecturer
in Divinity and Hebrew in the University of Dublin.

[Read NOVEMBER 14, 1904. Ordered for Publication NOVEMBER 16, 1904.

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PREFACE.

THE best apology for the publication of a new edition of the Latin Writings of St. Patrick is the history of the printed text. With the exception of Sir James Ware, and Andreas Denis the editor of the Bollandist text, none of those who have printed these tracts has availed himself of all the ms. evidence which he knew to be extant when he wrote; and, great as were the services to learning

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of Ware and Denis, their editorial ideals were not those of modern scholars.

The Latin Writings of St. Patrick were five times printed during the nineteenth century. In every case, they were treated as a fragment of a large design; and naturally their interests, so to speak, suffered. They are so very short, that it was not thought worth while to bestow on them the exact and critical treatment which their importance demands. A glance at the Bibliography will prove the truth of this statement.

The present edition is the first in which an attempt has been made to construct a text of the *Libri Sancti Patricii* on a definite critical principle from all the known mss. Finality is by no means here pretended to; the discovery in some Continental library of a ms. of the type of the text in the Book of Armagh would certainly necessitate a revision of those portions where that ms. is not available; but it is hoped that the conclusions arrived at in the Introduction as to the relative value of the other mss. will so far commend themselves to scholars as to minimise the importance of the discovery of a ms. akin to that of Arras.

The absolutely new matter in this edition is the evidence of the Rouen ms., the existence of which was made known to me by the Rev. Hippolyte Delehaye, s.j., shortly after its discovery in 1903. For this kindness I desire here to express to him my sincere thanks. The student will also find here the true readings of the extant portions of the Arras ms. used in the Bollandist edition of 1668; and the complete evidence of A, as presented in the first really accurate transcript—that prepared by Dr. Gwynn for his forthcoming edition of the Book of Armagh. It is also hoped that the presentation of the readings of the other three mss. will be found satisfactory.

My obligations to others are manifold; but my chief debt of gratitude is due to the Rev. John Gwynn, d.d., d.c.l., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin, who permitted me to use the final proof-sheets of his edition of the Book of Armagh, and has also carefully read the proofs of this edition; and in every difficulty has most generously given me the benefit of his wide erudition and sound critical judgment. The suggestions which I have acknowledged in the notes give a very inadequate idea of the extent to which I am indebted to his wise counsels.

My thanks are also due to the Very Rev. J. H. Bernard, d.d., Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, and Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity in the University of Dublin, at whose suggestion this edition

was undertaken, and who kindly communicated to me an unpublished paper of critical notes on the Biblical quotations in St. Patrick's writings; and in this connexion I must acknowledge my obligations to Mr. F. C. Burkitt, of Cambridge, who was good enough to read over the proof-sheets of my own notes on the Biblical citations, and supplied me with some important references, especially to St. Cyprian. I am also indebted to Prof. H. J. Lawlor, D.D., for some valuable suggestions.

If this paper contributes in any degree to the presentation of the mind of St. Patrick—his *qualitas*—in somewhat sharper outline than has hitherto been the case, it will have fulfilled its purpose. The scope of the paper is very limited, as I have deemed it advisable to confine myself altogether to St. Patrick's Latin Writings. The critical narrative of his personal history is in more competent hands.

INTRODUCTORY MATTER.

THE MANUSCRIPTS AND TEXT.

THE manuscripts of the *Libri Sancti Patricii* that are at present known to scholars are six in number:—

(1). That contained in folios 22–24 of the Book of Armagh, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. These leaves present considerably more than half the Confessio. It is only necessary here to note that the Book of Armagh was transcribed between A.D. 807 and A.D. 846, by Ferdomnach, the official scribe of Armagh (see Graves, *Proceedings, Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. iii. p. 316; Bury, *Eng. Hist. Review*, Ap., 1902, p. 238, n.). This ms. is cited as A. The first person to make literary use of A was Ussher in his *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates, Dublinii*, 1639. Ussher's citations will be noticed further on when the Bollandist text comes under consideration. The Confessio was printed *in extenso* by Sir James Ware in the editio princeps, *S. Patricio, Qui Hibernos ad fidem Christi convertit, adscripta opuscula, Londini*, 1656.

I am indebted to Dr. Gwynn for permission to use the proof-sheets of his reproduction of the Book of Armagh for the purposes of this edition.

(2). The ms. which is cited by Haddan (*Councils, &c., Haddan and Stubbs*) as B, was first published—at least so far as the writings of St.

Patrick are concerned—in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum Martii*, tom. ii., Antwerpæ, 1668. The title is given as follows: *Confessio S. Patricii de vita et conversatione sua. Quam ex vetustissimo Nobiliacensis S. Vedasti monasterii codice eruit Andreas Denis, Atrebas, e Societate Jesu.*

The ms. is a large folio measuring 44 × 31 centimetres, written in a very clear twelfth-century hand, in two columns of forty-eight lines. It belonged originally to the Benedictine establishment of Saint Vaast, Arras, and with the rest of that library became the property of the State at the Revolution. It is now in the Public Library of Arras, and classed “No. 450. Bibliothecae Monasterii Sancti Vedasti Atrebatensis, 1628, F. 2.” Unfortunately, since its first and only publication, two folios have been lost—in all probability in the unsettled times that followed the spoliation of the Monastery of St. Vaast. In a letter which I received from M. Wicquot, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque d’Arras, he says: “Plusieurs manuscrits de la bibliothèque d’Arras ont été malheureusement mutilés, il y a une centaine d’années. Les deux feuillets entre folio 51 et 52 et entre 52 et 53 ont été déchirés, et par conséquence aujourd’hui perdus, sans espérer pouvoir les retrouver.”

The proportion of B which we have at first hand may be calculated thus. If we take the line space in Dr. Whitley Stokes’s edition as a measure of length, the Confessio occupies 571 lines, and the Epistola 178, more or less. The manuscript of B is available for 345 lines of the Confessio, and 57 of the Epistola. The Confessio begins in the middle of the first column of fol. 50, verso, and fol. 51 completes 185½ lines, or to the beginning of section 20 in the present edition. Fol. 52 covers 159½ lines, or from near the end of section 40 to the beginning of section 59; and, for the Epistola we have 1½ columns of fol. 53, recto, covering 57 lines, or from the middle of section 15 to the end. The two gaps amount respectively to 191 and 155½ lines. This disparity in the amount of matter contained in the two lost folios can be easily accounted for. Two scribes at least were employed on the Confessio, and one of them wrote the first 24 lines of fol. 52, recto. The writing of this scribe is so much smaller than that of his colleague that his half column covers 26¾ lines against 20¼ covered by the other half column. Something, too, must be allowed for the space occupied by the initial letter of the Epistola (the initial P of the Confessio covers 7 half lines), and the interval between it and the Confessio.

For this edition I have used a first-rate photograph prepared by J. Gonssemaume, of Arras. A careful collation of these plates with the Bollandist edition demonstrates the necessity of distinguishing between

the authority of the ms. itself and that of the ms. as edited by A. Denis. Hence I have cited them respectively as B and Boll.

(3). The Confessio and Epistola are contained intact in the Cotton ms. Nero, E.I. in the British Museum. The Confessio begins on fol. 169, verso. This ms. is assigned to the twelfth century, and is cited as C. C was used by Ussher (*Brit. Eccles. Ant.*), and also by Ware in the editio princeps.

(4 and 5). Fell 3 and Fell 4, Bodleian Library, Oxford, also contain the Confessio and Epistola in their entirety.

These volumes of *Acta Sanctorum* were, with four others, borrowed by Archbishop Ussher in September, 1640, from the Library of Salisbury Cathedral. Ware used them for his edition (*binis Ecclesie Sarisburiensis*). After many vicissitudes four of the six volumes came into the hands of Bishop Fell, and finally in 1686 passed with the rest of his manuscripts into the Bodleian Library. (See H. J. Lawlor, *The MSS. of Vita S. Columbani, Transactions R.I.A.*, vol. xxxiii. C., Part i., p. 36). The two volumes with which we are here concerned were formerly classed Fell 1 and Fell 3. The Confessio begins on fol. 7, recto, of Fell 3, and on fol. 158, recto, of Fell 4. They are cited here as F 3 and F 4. Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson gave it to me as his opinion that F 4 was written in the last quarter of the eleventh century, and F 3 in the first quarter of the twelfth.

(6). The last leaves (fol. 157, verso—159) of a ms. in the Public Library at Rouen, containing the first half of the Confessio. These leaves are in a very damaged condition, and are not mentioned in Omont's official catalogue of the Rouen Library.

For my knowledge of the existence of this ms. of the Confessio I am indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. Hippolyte Delehaye, s.j., Société des Bollandistes, Brussels, one of whose colleagues discovered it in 1903. I was furnished with excellent photographs of the five pages by M. Henri Loriquet, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque Publique de la Ville de Rouen. The following extract from his correspondence with me may be of interest:—"Le dernier feuillet porte une grande déchirure qui entame la bordure de quelques lignes. . . . Les dimensions sont 308 sur 235 millimètres . . . Votre ms. est décrit tout au long avec ses nombreuses vies des saints, dans le *Catalogue général des bibliothèques publiques de France*, t. I., pp. 373-375. Il y figure sous le n° 1391. Il s'appelait précédemment: 'U. 39'; plus anciennement: 'U. 53,' et plus anciennement encore: 'Jumièges, G. 9.' M. Omont, auteur de ce catalogue, a précisément oublié de mentionner la 'Conf. Patr.' De plus, il indique le ms. comme étan

du xii siècle. En réalité il est écrit de plusieurs mains, et j'incline à croire qu'il est plutôt du xi siècle."

We must now take into consideration the textual character of these six mss.

The unique associations that are recalled by the Book of Armagh, and its relatively great antiquity—having been transcribed at least 250 years earlier than any of the other mss.—have biassed the judgment of some scholars when dealing with its peculiarities. The most disturbing of these are its omissions. It does not contain the Epistola, yet the title prefixed to the Confessio, *Libri Sancti Patricii*, implies that it must have been, originally at least, included in the contents of the exemplar which Ferdomnach copied. But the absence of the Epistola is less perplexing than the omissions—for such we must regard them—in the Confessio.

Assuming that the other mss. present the Confessio in its entirety, there are five lacunæ in A. The first begins with § 26 of the present edition, and covers nearly 20 lines; then we have $11\frac{1}{2}$ lines of A, followed by a gap of 30 lines; then $5\frac{1}{2}$ lines of A; then a gap of 15 lines. The next section of A is that in which the scribe betrays his impatience of the string of texts that he saw before him; so that in calculating its length we are entitled to allow for the texts when written in full. We reckon it then at 39 lines, or a little more. We then have a lacuna of about 88 lines, followed by $11\frac{1}{2}$ of A, and finally a gap of about 37 lines before the concluding paragraph of A, which covers 6 lines. It will be noticed that of the short sections of A two occupy each $11\frac{1}{2}$ lines, and two others $5\frac{1}{2}$ and 6 respectively, and that the length of the lacunæ are, roughly speaking, multiples of 5 and 6. I have estimated them respectively as 20, 30, 15, 88, 37.

It would be unreasonable to suppose that each page of the exemplar would contain exactly the same number of letters and letter spaces; and therefore the figures just quoted point to the hypothesis that the exemplar from which the Confessio was copied into the Book of Armagh was written on very small folios, possibly not in a very neat hand, so that each folio did not contain more words than five or six lines of the present edition, and that a considerable number of leaves had been lost. The note at the end: *Huc usque volumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua*, cannot be pressed as proof that Ferdomnach had before him the actual autograph; since it might have been merely repeated from a copy of the autograph. But all the facts can be explained by the supposition that we have, in the Book of Armagh, all that remained of the autograph, or what was thought to

be the autograph, in the year 807; and that it was then thought well to copy the precious document into the official Armagh repertory, without at all implying that other copies were redundant or interpolated. The marginal notes *incertus liber* and Z (however explained) certainly support the theory that Ferdornach's exemplar was a very old one.

The truth is, that if these lacunæ had occurred in any other ms. than the Book of Armagh, it would never have occurred to anyone to speak of the other mss. as interpolated. There is absolutely no difference in style between the passages that are and that are not in A. St. Patrick's style is abrupt; but the Confessio, as read in the other mss., is much less violent in the transitions of thought than as read in A. It must, however, be noted that the proofs drawn from the manuscript itself in support of the view that the Confessio is deliberately abridged in A cannot be pressed. Graves urged as bearing on this the occurrence here and there of Z in the margin, and the words in § 40: *et caetera, reliqua usque dicit saeculi, reliqua sunt exempla*. But this Z never occurs at the beginning or end of a lacuna; it is found only where there is a textual or exegetical difficulty; and the disinclination to copy out at length familiar texts is not unusual in transcribers of catenæ.¹

The fact that Tírechán actually quotes from a portion of the Confessio which is not in A, seems a conclusive argument against the interpolation theory: *Extendit [expendit] Patricius etiam praetium xu animarum hominum, ut in scriptione sua adfirmat, de argento et auro, ut nullum malorum hominum impederet eos in uia recta transeuntes totam Hiberniam* (Bk. of Armagh, fol. 10, verso, b. l. 34). See Conf. § 53 *Censeo enim non minimum quam pretium quindecim hominum distribui illis*.

It has been just stated that the marginal notes in A cannot be urged as a proof that the text is an abridged one; but at the same time when we have set out our *apparatus criticus*, we find that there is a considerable number of places in which A omits words and clauses which are found in all the other mss., and which in most cases seem necessary to complete the sense.

The following examples do not include the two omissions of

¹ Graves explained this Z as ζῆτεῖτε: see Todd, *St. Patrick*, p. 348; but the facts just stated are rather in favour of a conjecture which has been suggested to me, that it stands for *Zabulus*, i.e. Diabolus, and that the scribe means to suggest that he had been at work to cause whatever error or confusion occurred in the book. Professor Bury calls it "the mark of query." *Eng. Hist. Review*, July, 1903.

texts which Ferdomnach himself acknowledges in § 40 by the notes *reliqua usque dicit saeculi* and *reliqua sunt exempla*.

At the end of § 20, in his eagerness to abridge a text, the scribe omits the first part of the sentence following; and we have *inquit Dominus, non uos estis. Multos adhuc capturam dedi* for *inquit: In illa die, Dominus testatur, "Non uos estis qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris uestri qui loquitur in uobis."* *Et iterum postea nos multos adhuc capturam dedi.*

The omissions in § 54 are best shown by quoting them, bracketed, in their context.

Neque ut sit occasio [adulationis uel auaritiae scripserim] uobis, neque ut honorem spero ab aliquo uestro. Sufficit enim honor qui non[dum uidetur sed corde creditur. Fidelis autem qui promisit, nunquam] mentitur.

Less remarkable are: *Dominus praestare* § 3, *et inuisibilia . . . ad Patrem receptum* § 4, *prodessem* § 13, *quo* § 17, *nocte* § 20, *dies per* § 22, *ab extremis terrae* § 38, *certissime quod mihi* § 55, *Dei placitum* § 62.

In these cases there can be no reasonable doubt that A is wrong, and in only two instances, viz., in §§ 20 and 62, does the scribe indicate, by writing Z in the margin, that he was conscious that his exemplar was at fault. There are besides some sixteen or seventeen other places in which clauses are omitted in A, in cases where the omission does not make nonsense.

On the other hand, there are only four instances in which A inserts clauses that are absent in the other mss. These are: *quid peterem uel* § 10, *ipse est qui loquitur in te* § 24, *et ab austro et ab aquilone* § 39, and *et docet* § 40. Of these insertions, the only one which is possibly wrong is the first. The conclusion, then, at which we naturally arrive, is that the fact that A omits certain words and clauses is not strong evidence against their genuineness, though some of A's omissions do commend themselves on consideration.

In truth, although we cannot acquit the scribe of A of the charge of carelessness and haste, yet such is the relative antiquity of the text that, save as regards its omissions, it seems the safest course to follow it, except when it is absolutely unintelligible. It frequently happens that where A is against all the other mss., their reading, although at first attractive, is found on mature consideration to be merely a plausible emendation.

Before we deal with the affinities of the other mss. with A and with each other, it may be well to say a word about their respective peculiarities.

Hitherto the Bollandist edition has been cited as if it were a manuscript; and since unfortunately the Bollandist text is now the only representative of two folios of B, it will be necessary to justify the statement made above, to the effect that B and Boll. differ somewhat in their authority.

It is only fair to say that Denis did not profess to base his text exclusively upon his manuscript. It was the only one to which he had access; and he might be pardoned for thinking it very imperfect. In the first place, it is entitled, *Vita Beati Patricii*; and he also had before him Colgan's *Triadis Thaumaturgae* . . . *Acta*, Lovanii, 1647. In the Fourth Life of St. Patrick contained in that work, § 16 of the Confessio is quoted as *in libro quem de vita et conversatione sua ipse composuit*. Denis accordingly fancied that the Confessio, as it came from St. Patrick's pen, was a fairly exhaustive autobiography. Hence his complaints of the lacunæ in his ms.; e.g., after *neglegentiae meae*, § 46 of this ed., he prints dots, and notes, "Locus hic, librorum socordia deprauatus, uidetur de peregrinationibus Patricii habuisse nonnulla." Similar notes occur in three other places. Moreover, more than once he confesses to having amended the text by the aid of the extracts from the Confessio in Vita iv., and of those given by Ussher from A, as Denis assumed them to be.

Thus, for the reading *in capturam. decidi* § 1, for *capt. dedi*, he acknowledges his obligations to Vita iv. On his § 6, on the word *pecora* (§ 16 of this ed.), Denis subjoins the following note:—

"Reliqua huius numeri ex suo ms Usserus exhibet, unde nonnullas apographi nostri lacunas suppleuimus; plura simili modo correcturi, si ille totum textum protulisset." The section ends with *de hominibus habebam* (§ 17).

Again, on § 20, *Eadem vero nocte*, &c., we find this note: "Qui sequitur locus, in Vita iv. totus transcriptus, egrapho nostro emendando profuit." Again, on the passage commencing *Et iterum post annos multos* § 20 ad fin., and ending *expergefactus sum* § 23. Denis notes "Hactenus totum hunc locum, Maccutheno citato, profert Usserus, p. 832." It remains that we should determine how far in reality Denis used these helps.

Let us first of all examine the citations given by Ussher. They are five in all; and we shall observe that Ussher constantly departs from A, and gives the readings from C. As far as we know he had not seen F 3 and F 4 until 1640.

I give herewith a collation of the passages with A, not noting Ussher's modernisation of the spelling.

(a) § 1. Ussher, p. 818. Patrem—Taberniae.

Calpornium CB . . . *diaconem* CB . . . *quondam* CB . . . ins. in [uico] C . . . *Bonaum* no ms.

This citation has not affected Boll.

(b) §§ 1, 2. Ussher, p. 828. Annorum eram—ut pater filium. *milibus* Vita vii . . . *uel sero rememorarem* CB . . . *et ut conuerterer* C . . . *adolescentiae et ignorantiae* Vitae ii., iv., vii., as well as B . . . *consolatus est me* CB.

There are here five material variations from the text of A. But for none of the variants of Boll. can Denis be said to be indebted to Ussher.

(c) §§ 16, 17. Ussher, p. 829. Cotidie—sex annis.

Om. *itaque* [igitur CB] . . . ins. *et* [ante lucem] CB . . . [responsum] *dicens* . . . [cum] *quo* [fueram] CB.

We have here four material variations from A. *dicens* and omission of *itaque* are the only ones not found in B or C. Denis adopted these and also the following readings of A preserved by Ussher:—*amor* so C . . . om. *in* bef. *monte* . . . ins. *sentiebam* . . . om. *et terram* . . . ins. *iterum* . . . ins. [non] bef. *erat prope*—six in all.

It is characteristic of Denis that of the three insertions adopted from A only one is indicated by square brackets.

(d) § 21. Ussher, p. 832. Et iterum post annos—de manibus eorum.

ins. *Et iterum post annos* [multos] C . . . *utique* for *itaque* no ms. ins. *dicens mihi* (C has *dicentem mihi*) . . . *duos menses* C.

Here B is not extant, so that we cannot say with certainty whether any of these variations from A which are in Boll. were in B. *Dicens* for *dicentem* probably was not. On the other hand, A and Boll. agree in *nocte illa sexagessima* against CF₃F₄ *nocte illa sexagessimo die*.

(e) § 23. Ussher, p. 832. Et iterum post paucos—expergefactus sum.

Britanniis No ms. . . . *nunquam* C . . . *uidi in visu nocte*, and om. *uidi* infra C . . . om. *quasi* No ms. . . . *Victoricus* C . . . *illis* C . . . *Hiberionacum* C . . . *ipso momento* C, with the reading of A, *ipse in mente*, noted in the margin. . . . ins. *quasi ex uno ore* C . . . *ambules* C . . . *expergefactus* C. Seven material variations.

Here again B is not extant; but Denis expressly notes that the important place-name *Focluti*, which he adopts from Ussher, was not in his ms., “*Virgulti* habebat ms.”

There are a few other places in which Denis quotes, not always correctly, the reading of his ms. in rejecting it.

These may be given in their order.

Conf. § 18. *repuli sugere mammas eorum* (*reppuli sugire* B). Denis conj. *debui surgere in nauem eorum*.

Conf. § 20. *nihil membrorum meorum praeualui* (*deest* B). Denis (from Vita iv.) *omnium membrorum meorum vires abstulit*.

Conf. § 46. *intelligi*. Denis conj. *iter illud*.

Conf. § 49. *nominibus*. Denis conj. *in omnibus*; so F₁.

Conf. § 53. *iudicabant*. Denis conj. *indigebant*.

Ep. § 16. Denis notes that he omits: *Nonne unum Deum habetis? Quod dereliquistis unusquisque proximum suum?* B has *quid* for *quod*.

On the other hand, in Conf. § 11, having left out the obscure words *ratum et fortissimum*, he merely notes, "*Si haec dispunctio non sufficit sanando huic loco, necesse est aliquid excidisse*," without the least hint as to the nature of the omitted words.

But this does not carry us very far. The quotations found in the *Lives* are not much more extensive than those in Ussher; and it might fairly be assumed that the rest of the text was a faithful transcript of the ms. Denis certainly professed to mark his own interpolations by printing them within square brackets. The first of these occurs in the creed, § 4, after *inuisibilia* [*qui Filium sibi consubstantialem genuit*] with the added note, "*Haec aut similia uerba in ms. Atrebatensi desiderari contextus indicat, ad cuius exigentiam in sequentibus nonnulla supplebimus [] includenda*." There are besides in the Confessio 25 such insertions, mostly of only one word, 3 are of two words, and 1 of three words. In the Epistola there are 19 interpolations thus acknowledged, 2 of them being of two words.

Unfortunately our confidence in the editorial trustworthiness of Denis is considerably shaken by a comparison of the photograph of the extant folios of B with the printed text. I have classified the deviations of Denis from his ms. under the heads of insertions, omissions, transpositions, and alterations. I have not reckoned the emendations for which he was indebted to Ussher and to Colgan's *Lives*, nor those of which he informs the reader; and I find altogether at least 23 insertions of single words and 1 insertion of two words; 24 omissions of single words, 4 omissions of two words, 2 omissions of clauses; 15 transpositions, one of them being of two clauses; and finally no less than 117 material alterations, 9 of them affecting more than one word. It is not to be supposed that if the whole ms. were extant we should find a greater degree of fidelity exhibited in Denis's treatment of the two lost folios.

So much it has been necessary to say in order to explain why it is that we cannot be sure of what the reading of B was when we are dependent on Denis's presentation of it. It would be unreasonable in the highest degree to expect from Denis what we do not find in Ussher or Ware. The degree of accuracy which is an ideal in the twentieth century, was unimaginable in the seventeenth; and it must not be forgotten that it is chiefly through the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* that the writings of St. Patrick have been known to scholars throughout Europe. Many of the textual emendations that have been adopted in this edition are due to the sagacity of Andreas Denis.

Even a passing glance at the *apparatus criticus* reveals the fact that, where A is available, the great majority of the variants from its texts are supported by all the other mss. Accordingly, in these cases, it has been thought best to use the term *rell.* in place of the full series BCF₃F₄R or Boll. CF₃F₄R. Further, the most constant members of this group are CF₄*. In fact, neither of these two mss. presents any distinctive readings worth mentioning. In the Confessio C has five omissions by homoioteleuton in §§ 1, 10, 40 *bis*, 60, and some other insignificant variants, most of which are unintentional blunders of the scribe; and F₄* has fewer still. F₄ has been corrected throughout in respect of grammatical forms, in so far as was possible to do so by erasure and letters written over erasure. There are no marginal corrections, and hardly any interlinear ones, so that it is impossible to say when the corrections were made. In any case they have no more authority than the emendations of a modern editor. Nevertheless, as being after a fashion ms. evidence, they have all been recorded in the foot-notes.

I have only noticed two cases where C agrees with A against BF₃F₄, i.e. *amor Dei* for *timor Dei* in § 16, and the omission of *mihi* bef. *honor* in § 54. The similar agreements of F₄ with A are more trifling still, i.e. *unde* for *inde* in § 18, and the omission of *inquit* after *Dominus* in § 40, *sicut Dom. in aeuangelio ammonet*, &c.

C and F₄ agree so closely, not only in genuine variants, but also in blunders and strange spellings of words—they actually have in common an omission by homoioteleuton in Ep. § 13—that they cannot be considered as independent authorities. As far as the text is concerned, F₄ cannot be a copy of C; both are probably copies of the same exemplar. This, however, does not affect the fact that CF₄, which we must treat as one authority, is the most constant member of the *rell.* group, the common parent of which, although possibly later than A, must have been of considerable antiquity.

On the other hand, the unique readings of B are too numerous to mention; and, speaking generally, they betray the hand of a rather clever editor. Not only has he corrected the grammar of individual words, but in very many cases the turn of phrase is altered. This is all the more to be regretted, inasmuch as B more frequently agrees with A against the rest than any of the others. Where A is absent, the issue nearly always lies between B or Boll. and CF₄. F₃ is usually found on the side of CF₄, but deserts to B or Boll. occasionally. One has to choose, that is, between *rell.* whose inferiority to A is usually evident, and B or Boll. whose greater affinity to A is obscured by its predominating artificial character. It seems the lesser of two evils to follow CF₄ as far as possible; that is, except where its reading is evidently a blunder or unintelligible.

F₃ and R are nearly allied, as will be seen from the examples of group-readings subjoined.

F₃ is, perhaps, the most carelessly written of the six mss. Its contribution to the list of unimportant variants is the largest of any; but occasionally it seems to have preserved the true reading. R, like B, has been edited, but not so extensively. Interesting examples are:—§ 1. *Calpurnium diaconem quondam filium Potiti* for *filium quondam*, which suggests that Calpurnius had ceased to be an ecclesiastic before his marriage; § 1. *Annorum eram tunc fere quindecim* for *sedecim* to make Patrick's captivity follow immediately upon the sin to which he alludes in § 27; and § 14 *gallias* for *exgallias* BCF₃ or *exagallias* A, in order to mark an allusion to Gaul.

LIST OF GROUP-READINGS.

AB.

- § 1. *Conuerterem* (B) is nearer *confirmarem* (A) than is *conuerterer*.
- § 2. *Aperuit sensum* for *ap. sensus*.
Adoliscentie ignorantie mee A; same order in B, which ins.
et; *adol. mee et ignor.* CF₃F₄R.
- § 4. Ins. *nec ante*.
- § 6. *Fratribus et cognatis meis*, *dat* for *acc*.
- § 9. *Doctrina ueritatis* for *Doct. uarietatis*.
- § 10. *Spiritus gessit* for *Spir. gessit*.
- § 13. *Transtulit et donauit* for *Trans. ut don.*
- § 15. *Non eram dignus* for *Non etiam dign.*
- § 16. *Excitabar ad orationem* for *Exercitabar ad or.*

- § 18. *Reppuli sugere mammellas eorum* A. B here has *sugire mammas*; but the variants of CF₄, F₃R are still more remote.
- § 20. *Quandiu fuero in hoc corpore* for *Q. fueram*, &c.
- § 41. *Virgines Christi esse uidentur* for *Virg. C. ipse uid.*
- § 55. *Ego uero miser. ins. uero* AB.

It must be remembered that B breaks off near the commencement of § 20, and that the two mss. only meet again in the very short §§ 41, 54, 55. The following agreements of A and Boll. are taken from portions of the Confessio not accessible to Denis in Ussher's work.

- § 20. *Dum clamarem Heliam* for *Dum clamabam*, &c.
- § 22. *Peruenimus omnes* (2). Here F₃ joins the group. CF₄ read *Peru. ad homines*, with Muirchu. Note that A and Boll. om. *ad* bef. *omnes* (1).
- § 24. *Qui dedit animam*, &c. Here CF₄ read *posuit*. F₃R have no verb at all.
- § 29. *Faciem designati* for *Fac. Dei signati* CF₃F₄.
- § 30. *Inpediret a profectione* for *Inpenderet* CF₃F₄*.
- § 35. *Nec iniuriam legentibus faciam* A. Boll. has *Ne*; CF₃F₄ *Nec et*.

The groups AC, AF₄ have been already noticed, p. 212. I have only observed one reading in which AF₃ stand alone, § 4 *et omnis lingua*, where the other four read *ut*. The agreements of R with A are not worth mentioning.

The two passages which afford the clearest guide to the affinities of the mss. of the Confessio are to be found in §§ 18 and 19.

1. (a) *Reppuli sugere mammellas eorum* A.
Reppuli sugire mammas eorum B.
- (b) *Repulis fugire mammas illorum* F₃R.
- (c) *Repulsus sum fugere amicitias illorum* CF₄.
2. (a) *Canes eorum repleti sunt* A.
- (b) „ „ *reuelati* „ BF₃R.
- (c) *Carnes* „ *releuati* „ CF₄.

We see here at a glance the close relationship of the *fundamental* text of BF₃R to A. At the same time, when we bear in mind the general inartificial character of CF₄, and the fact noticed above that in § 22 Muirchu supports its reading *ad homines*, it seems difficult to condemn the (c) readings as mere emendations. It is not necessary to give any more instances of the peculiar readings of CF₄. They will

be found to be very numerous. It may, however, be worth while to place before the reader other examples of the group F₃R.

- § 1. *Calpurnium*. A has *Calpornum*, BCF₄ *Calpornium*.
 § 4. *Ut diximus* for *Ut dicimus*.
 § 19. *Conuertimini ex fide ex toto corde*. A has *Conu. ex fide*. B
Conu. ex toto corde. C F₄ ins. *et* after *fide*.
 § 19. *Cibum mittat nobis* for *uobis*.
 § 20. *Ignarum et spiritu*. All the others read *in sp*.
 § 20. *Et ecce splendor*. All the others om. *et*.
 § 23. *Brittanniis*. A has *Britannis*; CF₄, *Britanniis*.
 § 24. *Qui pro te animam suam*. CF₄ add *posuit*. A and Boll. read
dedit, with the order of the other words variously altered.
 The following combinations of B may be of interest:—

BF₃.

- Conf. § 18. *Fortiter exclamare* for *Fort. exclamabat*.
 § 40. *Et Osee dicit*. CF₄ ins. *in*.
 § 42. *Nuntio Dei* for *Nutu Dei*.
 § 44. *Preposita castitate* for *Proposita cast.*
 § 48. *Inter uos* for *Apud uos*.
 Ep. § 18. *Ignis aeterni* for *Ign. aeternae*.
 § 21. *Poeniteant* for *Poeniteat*.
 § 21. *Captiuos...quas* for *Capt. quos*.

BOLL. F₃.

- Conf. § 25. *Aduocatus est noster*. The others om. *est*.
 § 34. *Auderem aggredi* Boll. For *auderem* F₃ has *audirem*,
 CF₄ *adire*.
 § 35. *Admoneret* for *Admonuit*.
 § 37. *Darem me et ingenuitatem meam* Boll. F₃ om. *et*; CF₄
 om. *me et*.
 § 60. *Neque permanebit*. CF₄ pr. *et*.
 Ep. § 4. *Nescio quid* for *Nescio quod*.
 § 5. *Quapropter resciat*. C has *Quarepropter sciat*; F₄
Propter quam rem sciat.
 § 8. *Quasi qui uictimat*. om. *qui* CF₄.
 § 8. *Quas congregauit*. *Quas congregabit* CF₄.
 § 10. *Alligatus sum spiritu*. om. *sum* CF₄.

BR.

Conf. § 3. *Quae est sub omni caelo.* om. omni BR.

§ 7. *Perdes eos qui loquuntur.* omnes for eos BR.

§ 13. *Et uos Domini.* A has *dominicati*; CF₃F₄ *domni*.

§ 18. *Et ut uenirem.* A om. *et*; CF₃ corr F₄ *ut et*.

§ 18. *Hoc obtinuit* for *obtinui*.

BOLL. R.

§ 23. *Ut uel modo ego post.* &c., om. ego Boll. R; CF₃F₄ read *me*.

ABF₃.

Conf. § 17. *Et nihil metuebam.* CF₄ have *Ex nihilo met*.

§ 55. *Quotidie spero.* CF₄ have *Quotidie sperno*. See also § 22 noted above (p. 214).

ABR.

Conf. § 14. *Dei nomen ubique expandere.* CF₃F₄ ins. *nomine* bef. *ubique*.

The inartificial character of CF₃F₄ is perhaps most clearly perceived on an examination of the Biblical citations in cases where the *apparatus criticus* of the Confessio and Epistola exhibits variants. A scribe is always liable to the temptation to write quotations from the Bible in the phraseology that is most familiar to him. Speaking generally, the text of the Latin Bible that was current when these mss. were written, is that of the Vulgate as usually printed. In the subjoined list, the Biblical quotations are taken from the Clementine Vulgate, those words only being italicised of which there are variants in the mss. of St. Patrick. The list is restricted to passages from the Psalms and New Testament, as being from their familiarity most liable to emendation.

Ps. v. 7. Conf. § 7. *Perdes omnes qui loquunter mendacium.* So BR. *eos* AF₃F₄; *Perdes qui* C.

Ps. xxxiii. 4. Conf. § 34. *Exaltemus nomen eius.* So Boll., *Exaltarem* . . . *nomen tuum.* *Exultarem* CF₃F₄.

Ps. cxv. 12. Conf. § 57. *Pro omnibus quae retribuit mihi.* So B. *retribuatur* CF₃F₄.

S. Matt. iv. 19. Conf. § 40. *Uenite post me, et faciam uos fieri piscatores hominum.* So A. Boll. om. *et*; CF₃F₄ om. *fieri* with *h*, Ambr, Aug.

- S. Matt. viii. 11. Conf. § 39. Vg. om. *et ab austro et ab aquilone*, which A alone ins.
- S. Matt. xii. 36. Conf. § 7. *Reddent rationem de eo in die iudicii.* So A. *Pro eo rationem* BCF₃F₄; *de eo rat.* R.
- S. Matt. xvi. 26. Ep. § 8. *Si mundum universum lucretur, animae uero suae detrimentum patiatur.* Boll., *Si . . . lucr., se autem ipsum perdat* [S. Luke ix. 25] *et detr. an. suae pat.* CF₃F₄, *Ut . . . et an. suae detr. pat.*
- S. Matt. xxviii. 19. Conf. § 40. *Euntes ergo, docete . . . baptizantes eos . . . docentes eos seruare . . . quaecunque mandauī.*
A *ergo nunc . . . eas . . . obseruare . . . mandauī.*
Boll. *ergo eos . . . seruare . . . dixero* [S. John xiv. 26].
CF₃F₄ *ergo eos . . . obseruare . . . mandauī.*
- S. Mark xvi. 15, 16. Conf. § 40, Ep. § 20. *Euntes in mundum . . . Qui crediderit . . . saluus erit.* In Conf. § 40. ACF₃F₄ ins. *ergo* bef. in; Boll. om. In Ep. § 20 B has *crediderint salui erunt.* CF₃F₄ retain the sing.
- S. Luke x. 30. Conf. § 19. *Semiuiuo relicto.* A has *semiuiui relictī; rell derelictī.*
- S. Luke xxiv. 45. Conf. § 2. *Aperuit illis sensum.* So AB. *sensus* CF₃F₄R.
- S. John viii. 34. Ep. § 4. *Qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati.* So Boll. om. *peccati* CF₃F₄ with b, d, Cyprian.
- Acts ii. 5. Conf. § 3. *Omni natione quae sub caelo est.* So B. *quae est sub omni caelo* ACF₃F₄; *quae est sub caelo* R.
- Acts ii. 17 (Joel ii. 28). Conf. § 40. *Iuuenes uestri uisiones uidebunt.* So B. *Filii* CF₄. *Filii uestri* is omitted in F₃.
- Acts xiii. 47. Conf. § 38. *Posui te in lucem gentium, ut sis in salutem usque ad extremum terrae.* ACF₃F₄ have *lumen in gentibus.* Boll. *in lucem gentibus . . . salus mea* [Is. xlix. 6] . . . *ultimum.*
- Rom. ii. 6. Conf. § 4. *Reddet unicuique secundum opera eius.* So R. *facta* ABCF₃F₄.
- Rom. viii. 16, Filii Dei. Rom. ix. 26, Filii Dei uiui. In Conf. § 59, *Filii Dei uiui et coheredes Christi* CF₃F₄. om. *uiui* Boll., prob. because it interrupts the citation from Rom. viii. 17.
- Rom. viii. 26. Conf. § 25. *Spiritus adiunat infirmitatem nostram; nam quid oremus, sicut oportet, nescimus.* A, *infirmitates orationis nostrae, nam quod, &c.* Boll., *infirmitatem orationis nostrae; nam quid, and om. sicut op.* CF₃F₄R, *infirmitatem nostrae orationis num* [nam R] *quid, &c.*

- Rom. viii. 30. Ep. § 6. Quos autem praeordinavit hos et *vocavit*. So Boll.; *advocavit* CF₃F₄.
- Rom. xi. 36. Conf. § 59. Ipsi gloria in saecula, Amen. Boll. ins. *saeculorum* bef. *Amen*. This portion of the text is not in CF₄. F₃ does not contain any of it.
- Rom. xii. 15. Ep. § 15. *Flere* cum flentibus. So Boll. *Flere* CF₃F₄.
- 1 Cor. x. 28. Conf. § 19. Hoc *immolatum* est. So B. *immolaticum* A; *immolativum* CR; *immolatum* F₃F₄ corr.
- 2 Cor. iii. 2. Conf. § 11. *Scripta* in cordibus nostris. So rell. *scriptum* . . . *vestris* A.
- 2 Cor. xii. 15. Conf. § 53. *Impendam* et *superimpendar* ipse pro animabus vestris. *impendar* B; *impendat* CF₃; *impendam* F₄ corr.
- Phil. ii. 10, 11. Conf. § 4. Caelestium, *terrestrium* . . . et omnis lingua confiteatur quia Dominus Iesus Christus *in gloria est Dei Patris*. ACF₃F₄ ins. *et* bef. *terrestr.*; om. *terrestr.* R. For *et* BCF₄R read *ut*; A ins. *ei* bef. *quia*; ACF₃F₄R ins. *et Deus est* bef. *Iesus* [*Deus et Dom. est* R]; ACF₃F₄R om. *in gloria*, &c.
- 1 Thess. ii. 5. Conf. § 54. Neque . . . in sermone adulationis, sicut scitis, neque in occasione avaritiae. For *occasio adulationis*, Conf. § 54, B reads *causa adulationis*.
- 2 Tim. iv. 16. Conf. § 26. Non illis *imputetur*. In Conf. Boll. CF₃F₄ have *non illis in peccatum reputetur*. R reads *deputetur*. This is possibly due to a recollection of Rom. iv. 23, where *d* reads *deputatum* in the clause, *Reputatum est illi ad iustitiam*.
- Titus iii. 5, 6. Conf. § 4. Lauacrum . . . renouationis *Spiritus Sancti* quem *effudit* in nos abunde. The allusion in Conf. runs thus in A: *Et effudit in nobis habunde Spiritum Sanctum, donum, &c.* Rell. have *infudit* . . . *Spiritus Sancti* donum, &c.
- 1 John iii. 14. Ep. § 9. Qui non diligit *manet in morte*. So Boll.; *in morte manet* CF₃F₄.
- 1 John iii. 16. Conf. § 24. Ille *animam suam pro nobis posuit*. A reads *Qui dedit animam suam pro te*. The order in rell. is *Pro te animam suam*. Boll. prefixes *dedit*. CF₄ add *posuit*. There is no verb supplied in F₃R.
- Rev. xxii. 15, xxi. 8. Ep. § 18. Foris canes et *uenefici* . . . et omnibus *mendacibus*, pars illorum erit, &c. B has *uenefici*; CF₃F₄* have *ueneficos*. B has *mendaces*—a change which makes the composite quotation read more smoothly.

It is impossible not to feel that in many of these cases the true

reading is not that of A. Take, for example, S. Matt. iv. 19, xii. 36, Titus iii. 5, 6, 1 John iii. 16. Nevertheless, until fuller evidence is forthcoming, it would be an arbitrary method of procedure to desert A in cases where it approximated to Jerome's Vulgate more than do the other mss. At the same time, it would be equally unfair to ignore the testimony of CF₃F₄ when discussing the character of St. Patrick's text of the Holy Scriptures.

It remains that I should give a list of the conjectural emendations, that are known to be such, which have been printed in the text of this edition. Where B is not available, and a reading of Boll. has been adopted, it is at least a charitable hypothesis that it is indeed a reading of B, yet a doubt must always remain on the mind, since Denis, as we have seen, preferred not to betray to the general public all the blemishes of his manuscript, as he conceived them to be.

Conf. § 9. *iura* for *iure*. This has been suggested to me by Dr. Gwynn.

In any case the passage must be so translated.

Conf. § 10. *desertus*. So W. Stokes, except that he reads *disertus*. *desertus*, however, is both nearer ACF₃, and is in accordance with the usage of A, in which *disertus* and *desertum* interchange their first vowels.

Conf. § 10. *sermonem* for *sermone* ACF₃R, *sermonis* BF₄ corr. The horizontal bar above *e*, which would express *m*, is easily forgotten or obliterated. So present editor.

Conf. § 24. *effatus* for *efficiatus* A, *affatus* rell. So W. Stokes.

Conf. § 27. Non illis in peccatum reputetur. *Occasionem* post annos triginta inuenerunt. CF₃F₄R have *occasionum*; Boll. has, *reputetur occasio*. Nam, &c. All mss. ins. *me* after *inuenerunt*. The present editor thinks that there is a reference to Dan. vi. 5.

Conf. § 30. *dediceram* for *dedideram* A, *didiceram* rell. This has been suggested to me. A has *dedici* in § 9.

Conf. § 34. *aperuisti* for *cooperuisti* CF₃F₄, which yields no sense, and *denudasti* Boll. So present editor.

Conf. § 35. *me* ins. bef. *liberauit*. So Denis [me].

Conf. § 35. *idiotam tamen* for *ideo tamen* CF₃F₄. So present editor. The words are omitted in Boll., probably because they yielded no sense.

Conf. § 42. *patiuntur* for *patuntur* B, *patiantur* CF₃F₄. So Denis.

Conf. § 42. *illae* for *illas*. So Ware and Denis independently.

Conf. § 42. *etsi uetantur* for *et siue tantum* BF₃ *siue tantum* CF₄. So Denis.

Conf. § 51. *caperent* for *caperet*. So Denis.

Conf. § 57. *scrutatur* for *scrutator* B, *scrutabor* CF₃F₄. So Denis.

Conf. § 58. *contingat* for *contingunt*. So Ware.

Conf. § 58. *ins. me* bef. *testem*. So Denis [me].

Ep. § 11. *ins. dedit* bef. *in corde*. So Denis [dedit].

Note that of the eight emendations adopted from Boll., only three are acknowledged as such by Denis.

With the exception of the above seventeen conjectures, there is nothing printed in the text that has not ms. authority of some kind. The whole of the diplomatic evidence of A is presented either in the text or in the foot-notes. The eccentricities of the other mss. will be found in the Appendix. With these exceptions, the reading in the text is in every case that of the mss. whose variations are not recorded in the foot-notes.

HISTORICAL MATERIALS SUPPLIED BY THE LATIN WRITINGS OF ST. PATRICK.

Those who have attempted to construct a history of St. Patrick have too commonly approached the consideration of his Latin writings from a wrong point of view. They have consciously or unconsciously made Jocelin's twelfth-century Life their starting-point, and have in consequence read into the Confession matters which are not really there expressed, or even implied.

It does not fall within the scope of this edition of the *Libri S. Patricii* to discuss at length the facts of St. Patrick's life, or his place in the development of the Western Church. The sources of the ancient Lives are at present being investigated by Professors Gwynn and Bury; and until their conclusions as to the comparative value of the materials are fully known, it would be rash and uncritical for one who has not studied the subject very carefully to attempt to weave them into a consecutive narrative.

Nevertheless, the *Confessio* and *Epistola*, which are here presented to the student, are in fact the primary authorities available for a Life of St. Patrick; they form the only documentary evidence actually contemporary with the saint; and later authorities, if they can be shown to conflict with these, must be disregarded in such points of difference. This being so, it lies within the province of the present editor to bring together here the facts and inferences that may be gathered from these

writings, considered by themselves, without reference to any other document whatever. We shall endeavour to deal with them as if they were a recent find in some European library, and as if nothing had been hitherto known of the church-history of Ireland.

The first of these two documents is styled by the writer himself his Confession, in §§ 61, 62. *Breuitexponam uerba confessionis meae Haec est confessio mea*; and the main purport of this *confessio* is summed up in the words, *Testificor quia nunquam habui aliquam occasionem praeter euangelium et promissa illius ut umquam redirem ad gentem illam unde prius uix euaseram*. "I testify that I never had any cause, except the Gospel and His promises, for ever returning to that nation from whence previously I scarcely escaped."

To return to Ireland and preach the Gospel there, was then the *uotum animae suae* to which he alludes in § 6, *Opto fratribus et cognatis meis scire qualitatem meam ut possint perspicere uotum animae meae*, "I wish my brethren and kinsfolk to know what manner of man I am, that they may be able to understand the desire of my soul."

We gather from other statements why it was that this desire, which would seem to us a laudable one, should need any apology. His action was not only against the wish of his family, but also against that of "not a few of his elders" (§ 37). "Many," he says, "were forbidding this embassy and saying: 'Why does this fellow thrust himself into danger amongst enemies who have no knowledge of God?' It did not seem meet in their eyes on account of my rusticity" (§ 46). This *confessio* is then an *Apologia pro uita sua* rather than an autobiography; and we need only expect to find in it what seemed to Patrick the facts bearing immediately on his return to Ireland. But besides the vindication of his character and motives, Patrick informs us that he had also another object in writing, i.e. the natural desire to leave behind him something by which he might be remembered—a legacy to his brethren and spiritual children, to strengthen and confirm their faith (§§ 14, 47).

It is well to remember at the outset of our enquiry that the writer of the *Confessio* did not intend to give an account of his life; but he does incidentally give us some information about himself. He does not expressly state where he was born; but as his father owned a small farm near a town, *uicus*, named Bannavem Taberniae, and was, moreover a *decurio*, i.e. a town councillor, presumably of that town, we may safely assume that Patrick was born there. Bannavem Taberniae was certainly in Britain, since he twice speaks of Britain as

being the home of his family. *In Britannis eram cum parentibus meis* (Conf. 23). *Pergens in Brittanniis . . . quasi ad patriam et parentes* (Conf. 43).

Moreover, it seems probable that he was of British race. At least that is a plausible inference from the language he uses in Ep. §§ 2, 11, about Coroticus, who was most probably a North-British chieftain, *Non dico civibus meis neque civibus sanctorum Romanorum . . . Si mei me non cognoscunt*. He was ashamed, that is, to own Coroticus and his followers, as fellow-countrymen. They were "his own." Cf. S. John i. 11.

The father's name is variously spelt—Calpornus, Calpornius, Calpurnius. We have seen that he was a *decurio*, and possessed a *willula*. We learn incidentally from Ep. 10 that he had a considerable establishment, *servos et ancillas domus patris mei*. Patrick emphasizes more than once the fact that his father was in a good social position, *Darem ingenuitatem meam* (Conf. 37). *Ingenuus fui secundum carnem ; uendidi . . . nobilitatem meam* (Ep. 10). Calpornus was also a deacon in the church, and his father again, Potitus, had been a presbyter. The obvious meaning of *Patrem habui Calpornum diaconum filium quendam Potiti presbyteri* is that Calpornus and Potitus were in Holy Orders when their children were born. Long after the enactments of Popes Siricius (A.D. 385), Innocent I. (A.D. 405), and Leo I. (A.D. 443), and the disciplinary canons of the Councils of Orange (A.D. 441) and of Tours (A.D. 461), the law of clerical celibacy was not strictly observed, even in places less remote than was Bannavem Taberniae. The remarkable thing about this statement is that it is made without any explanation, qualification, or apology. The writer is a bishop himself (Ep. 1) ; he fully appreciates the spiritual value of celibacy (Conf. 41, 42) ; he has not always lived on the confines of civilisation ; he has spent some time in Gaul (Conf. 43) ; and after we have made every allowance for a son's reluctance to pass judgment on his father, it must be acknowledged that the incidental language of Patrick here indicates a date not later than the fifth century. The point is, not what was allowed or connived at in later times, but what was likely to be the character of public utterances by church dignitaries on the subject of clerical marriage.

As we have touched upon the question of the date of these writings, some other indications of the fifth century may here be noticed. In Ep. 14, the Franks are spoken of as heathen, *gentes*, who raided the Christians in Gaul. This points to a date anterior to A.D. 496, when the Franks with their King, Clovis, entered the Christian

Church. Moreover, the writer twice speaks of the Picts, or some of them, as apostates. Now the mission of Ninian to the Southern Picts began not later than A.D. 398, and possibly lasted until A.D. 432. Christian remains of an earlier date than Ninian are said to exist in Pictland (Ferguson, *Trans. R.I.A.*, vol. xxvii., p. 100. But see Bishop J. Dowden, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1897-98, p. 247, *sqq.*), so that this point cannot be pressed as necessarily proving that Patrick wrote after A.D. 398. Again, the trace of Roman organization implied in the term *decurio*, and the writer's constant use of *Britanniae*, implying a knowledge of the Roman division of Britain into provinces, cannot fairly be urged as proof that he wrote before the Roman legions withdrew from Britain in A.D. 410. The Roman municipal institutions would no doubt survive for some time, even in the most disturbed districts, and this is still more true of the Roman nomenclature.

To resume, the name of the great-grandfather of Patrick, Odissus, is supplied in the margin of A. As regards his boyhood, it would be unreasonable to accept literally his self-depreciatory statements: "I knew not the true God," "I did not believe in the living God" (Conf. 1, 27). The prayers that he repeated in the land of his captivity, so fervently, and with an ever deepening sense of their meaning (*fides augebatur*, Conf. 16), must have been learnt at home; and he must also have commenced there the rudiments of other learning, for he tells us that his education had been interrupted by his captivity, "My sins prevented me from mastering what I had read through before" (Conf. 10). He does indeed allude to one definite act of sin committed when he was about fifteen years old (Conf. 27). His moral sensitiveness may be gauged from the fact that this so preyed on his mind, that he felt it necessary to confess it before taking Holy Orders. It was sufficiently pardonable for his confessor at the time not to consider it a bar to ordination, although at a later period the memory of it was revived with the object of effecting his ruin.

When Patrick was sixteen years of age, a raid was made by Irish pirates on the district in which he lived. That they were Irish is proved by Ep. 10, where, speaking of his ministry in Ireland, he asks, "Is it from me that springs that godly compassion which I exercise towards that nation, who once took me captive, and harried the menservants and maidservants of my father's house?" This passage, taken in conjunction with Conf. 1, "a small farm . . . where I was taken captive," justifies us in concluding that Patrick was at the farm when the raid took place, and that he and the farm servants

were carried off, but that his parents escaped. They may have been sheltered within the walls of Bannavem Taberniae. The language of Conf. 23, *Iterum . . . in Britannis eram cum parentibus meis qui me ut filium susceperunt* cannot be urged as proof that his father and mother were not killed on this occasion, since *parentes* might simply mean 'relatives,' and it probably has this meaning in Conf. 43, where he speaks of the possibility of seeing his *parentes* were he again to visit Britain. It is not likely that his father and mother were alive at the time that the Confession was written. The raid was on a large scale. Patrick reckons the captives by thousands, *tot milia hominum*—probably a natural exaggeration.

The man to whom Patrick became a slave employed him in tending flocks, *cotidie pecora pascēbam* (Conf. 16); and in the solitude of this employment the germs of the love and fear of God, sown in childhood, soon developed. He would say as many as a hundred prayers in the day time, and nearly as many in the night. He would rise to his devotions before daybreak, even when he was out in the woods and on the mountains.

At last his special prayer was answered in two successive heavenly voices: *Thou fastest well, who art soon to go to thy fatherland*; and *Lo, thy ship is ready*. Patrick was now a young man of twenty-two, and he terminated his six years' servitude by flight. He tells us that the place where he found his ship was about two hundred miles distant from the scene of his captivity; but in what direction it lay, he does not say. On the one hand, some place on the east coast of Ireland obviously suggests itself as being near Britain. On the other hand, there is a passage, further on, which is most naturally explained by supposing that he fled westwards through Connaught. He tells us that, in the vision which determined his return to Ireland, *I thought I heard the voice of them who lived beside the wood of Fochlut, which is nigh unto the western sea* (Conf. 23). Now, at the time that this vision occurred he had not been in Ireland since his escape from captivity. How, then, did he know the name of the wood of Fochlut, or recognise the accent of the men who dwelt there? The testimony as to County Antrim having been the scene of his captivity is too strong to permit us to place it in County Mayo instead. Again, Patrick does not tell us how long he spent on the journey to his ship. Doubtless, he would delay as little as possible; but the mention of the hut in which he was being entertained before he accosted the sailors, proves that he had time to learn something of the country through which he passed. He tells us (Conf. 18) that when he was repulsed by the

master of the ship, *I left them to go to the hut where I was lodging.* There is no need to repeat here the details of the narrative. Patrick does not tell us to what nation the sailors belonged. He understood their language and they his, so probably they were Irish or British. He tells us that the reason he stayed with them was his hope that they might become Christians.

After a voyage of three days they reached land. What was this land? The heavenly voice had promised, *Cito iturus ad patriam tuam*, and so, if we had no other source of information, we should naturally suppose that Patrick intended to declare the fulfilment of that promise, and that the land was Britain. The only objection alleged to this is, that in § 23 an interval of a few years seems to be placed between this voyage and his return to Britain: *Et iterum post paucos annos in Britannis eram cum parentibus meis.* There does not seem to be much force in this objection. The words may mean, "I paid a *second* visit to Britain, after a few years"; but in any case the *Confessio* is not an autobiography; it is only concerned with the facts and visions that connected Patrick with Ireland. He does not tell us where he spent the *few years* that elapsed between his escape from the sailors and his meeting with his family. But we are anticipating.

Patrick does not tell us what the sailors had in view in this trip, whether plunder or trade. In any case they do not seem to have landed where they intended, for they had to journey for twenty-eight days before they reached their destination. According to the text of A, the providential encounter with the herd of swine occurred on the eighteenth day of their journey; according to the other mss., on the fourteenth day. The story is told confusedly. The parenthetical remark, *Et iterum post annos multos adhuc capturam dedi*, is best explained by a change of feeling towards Patrick on the part of the sailors. His strange behaviour on the night of the feast on pork—shouting Helias—may have determined them to treat him no longer as one of themselves, but as a captive.

The *annos multos* will then refer to the time that had elapsed—over six years—since his first captivity. This second period of slavery only lasted two months, when Patrick again made his escape. An interval of *a few years* now occurs (§ 23), and as they were not spent either in Ireland or Britain, it seems natural to suppose that Patrick escaped to Gaul, and in the shelter of some monastery prepared for Holy Orders. It seems to be implied, further on, that Gaul was the furthest limit of his travels. In § 45 he speaks of his longing to revisit Britain: *Non id solum, sed etiam usque ad Gallias visitare fratres*

et ut uiderem faciem sanctorum Domini mei. It was during these few years, we must suppose, that Patrick acquired the knowledge of Holy Scripture which his writings display, and also made many friends, one of whom in particular, *amicissimus meus* (§§ 27, 32), was his confessor, and afterwards his bitterest opponent.

Patrick now returned once more to Britain, and visited his family. They begged him to stay with them, but there was a stronger counter-influence at work. Here in Britain came the definite call to work in Ireland, *Rogamus te, sancte puer, ut uenias et adhuc ambulas inter nos.* Though Patrick must have been not far from thirty, he was still in his dreams the holy youth whose fastings and prayers had excited the veneration of the heathen Irish.

After narrating this vision, Patrick exclaims : *Deo gratias, quia post plurimos annos praestitit illis Dominus secundum clamorem eorum.* We cannot fairly infer from this more than the fact that *many years* passed before Patrick preached in Connaught. It gives us no clue as to the interval that elapsed between his visit to his family and his landing in Ireland. There is, however, a note of time a little further on in § 27, where, speaking about the unfair attack made on him by the *seniores*, he says, *Occasionem post annos triginta inuenerunt, et aduersus uerbum, quod confessus fueram antequam essem diaconus.* This is most naturally explained to mean that as thirty years had passed since the commission of the sin which he had confessed, it was therefore ungenerous to revive the memory of it. The sin in question had occurred when Patrick was about fifteen years old; consequently he was forty-five when it was employed as a ground of accusation against him. We have seen that he cannot have been more than thirty at the time of the vision in which Victorius appeared, and the call from Ireland came. The inference is a fair one, that some, if not the greater, portion of those fifteen years had been spent in evangelistic work in Ireland. It is not likely that he would resist the Divine summons for fifteen years. There was doubtless some delay. He tells us himself, *I did not proceed of my own accord to Ireland until I was almost worn out* (§ 28); worn out, that is, by the tearful pleadings of his family (§§ 23, 37), and by the somewhat scornful depreciation of his powers expressed by his ecclesiastical superiors, who thought it very presumptuous in so rustic and unlearned a man to attempt to initiate a mission amongst such savage heathens as were the Irish (§§ 37, 46). This two-fold opposition not unnaturally raised misgivings in Patrick's own mind : *I did not quickly assent in accordance with what had been shown to me, and as the Spirit brought to my remembrance . . . I did not know what . . .*

I should do about my position . . . I did not quickly recognise the grace that was then in me (§ 46).

This first opposition of the *seniores* Patrick acknowledges to have been quite devoid of malice, and this proves that it was in fact distinct in time from the attack of which he speaks in terms of great bitterness.

The question now arises, Was it from Britain or from Gaul that Patrick started on his first missionary journey to Ireland? On the one hand, it seems to have followed a visit to his family in Britain (§§ 23, 37); and the scene of the attack made on Patrick in his absence, namely, the occasion when his dearest friend took his part, was almost certainly Britain; for he says (§ 32), *I was not present on that occasion, nor was I in Britain*. As we should say, "Nor was I even in Britain." If we could accept the Bollandist reading *illic* for *illos necnon* in § 37, the matter would be decided in favour of Britain, as *patriam et parentes* occurs immediately before.

On the other hand, Gaul was almost certainly the nurse of his clerical studies. In § 43, when expressing his natural longing to revisit his old haunts:—while the attraction to Britain is that it was his fatherland, the home of his family, in Gaul he could visit his brethren, and see the face of the Lord's Saints.

Another question of some importance is, Had Patrick been raised to episcopal rank before he started on his first missionary journey to Ireland? or, to put the matter in a simpler form, Was the opposition of the *seniores*, that is mentioned in Conf. § 26, opposition to his being consecrated bishop, or an impeachment, on his return, of his conduct as missionary bishop in Ireland? The latter is the more probable alternative, if we take the words, *peccata mea contra laboriosum episcopatum meum* in their natural sense, *i.e.*, that in the judgment of the *seniores*, Patrick's sins, past and present, more than counterbalanced his work in Ireland, *his laborious episcopate*. It would be unnatural to suppose that Patrick would describe his past *ministerium* in Ireland as a *laboriosus episcopatus*, if he had been merely a bishop designate. Moreover, Patrick does not say that on this occasion his promotion was at stake. It was rather his character. *Dominus . . . mihi subuenit in hac conculcatione quod in labem et in obprobrium non male deueni*. Again, he contrasts the conduct on this occasion of the man who had been his dearest friend, when he *publicly disgraced him* (§ 32), with his former friendliness when he had said, *Lo, thou art to be raised to the rank of bishop*.

We conclude then that Patrick was a bishop at all events when

he was about forty-five years of age. He does not tell us if he was sent as a bishop to Ireland, or if the occasion when he was impeached by the *seniores* was the only visit he had paid to his friends since he first set foot in Ireland as a missionary. It is possible that the person to whom he refers as *my dearest friend—amicissimus meus*—and who had been his confessor, actually consecrated him bishop, but where or when we cannot gather from Patrick himself.

It follows from what has been said that the terms of the *responsum diuinum* in § 29, *Male uidimus faciem designati* cannot mean, *We have seen with displeasure the face of the bishop designate*. That the Divine Voice as heard by Patrick was explicitly condemnatory of his friend, is proved by the opening words of Conf. 32. *But I am the rather grieved for my dearest friend, that we should have deserved to hear such an answer as that.*

In speaking of this crisis in his life, Patrick calls it (Conf. 32) *defensionem illam*—a plain allusion to the language of St. Paul when speaking of his trial for his life, *At my first answer no man stood with me—In prima mea defensione nemo affuit mihi*, 2 Tim. iv. 16. We gather that he was acquitted; but it is natural to suppose that this terrible experience determined him never to return again to Britain or Gaul. He seems to have taken a vow to this effect. At least this is suggested by his words in Ep. 10, *I am bound in the spirit not to see any one of my kinsfolk*. The same purpose is expressed in Conf. 43: *Christ the Lord commanded me to come and be with them for the remainder of my life*, cf. also Conf. 58, Ep. 1.

We have seen that Patrick was about forty-five years of age when he returned to Ireland for the last time. The only other notes of time in connexion with his personal history are those in Conf. 10 and Ep. 3. In the former, speaking of his pretensions as an author, he says, *Modo ipse adpeto in senectute mea quod in iuuentute non comparavi*; in the latter, describing his first attempt to negotiate with Coroticus, *Misi epistolam cum sancto presbytero quem ego ex infantia docui*.

It is evident that *senectus* may connote any age, from a little over forty upwards, according to the speaker's point of view, and the usage of his contemporaries. The passage in the Epistola is slightly more definite. There is nothing to prevent our supposing that this presbyter had accompanied Patrick from Gaul when he began his work in Ireland. He may have been ordained later. He had been very possibly a pupil at the school of the monastery in which we have supposed that Patrick found a shelter after his escape from the sailors.

Patrick was then about twenty-two or twenty-three years old. He could scarcely have been entrusted with the education, even in part, of a child before he had been himself a year under instruction; before, say, he was twenty-four. Again, *ex infantia* cannot be taken literally. The boy can scarcely have come under Patrick's tuition before the age of eight or nine; and if he had been ordained presbyter at the earliest possible age, we must conclude that Patrick was at least forty at the time of his writing the *Epistola*. This is the very lowest computation. He was, in all probability, considerably older. How much older we cannot say.

It remains to inquire, What light do these writings throw on the question of the first preaching of Christianity in Ireland, and on the nature and extent of the work accomplished by Patrick?

If we accept his statements without any qualification, we must suppose that Ireland was utterly heathen until his arrival as a Christian preacher. *Numquam notitiam Dei habuerunt nissi idula et immunda usque nunc semper coluerunt* (Conf. 41). Again, he represents those who opposed his attempt as describing the Irish as *hostes qui Deum non nouerunt* (Conf. 46). It may be noted that the expression *hostes* would be appropriate if a previous attempt to evangelise Ireland had been badly received by the natives. Moreover, Patrick certainly speaks of the establishment of a Christian Church in Ireland as a recent event, and implies that it was due to his efforts: e.g. *Iniqui dissipauerunt legem tuam, Domine, quam in supremis temporibus Hiberione optime et benigne plantauerat* (Ep. 5). [*Filii Dei*] *quos nuper adquisiuit in ultimis terrae per exhortationem paruitatis nostrae*, Ep. 9. *Lupi rapaces deglutierunt gregem Domini qui utique Hiberione cum summa diligentia optime crescebat*, Ep. 12.

On the other hand, his language, when speaking of the range of his labours, is consistent with the supposition that the statements quoted refer only to the parts of Ireland evangelised by himself. For example, in Conf. 51: *Pergebam . . . ad exterar partes ubi nemo ultra erat, et ubi numquam aliquis peruenerat qui baptizaret, aut clericos ordinaret aut populum consummaret*. Cf. § 34. This language certainly permits us to suppose that there may have been not only Christian congregations, but an organised Christian Church, in those parts of Ireland more accessible to Britain and the continent of Europe than was the Wood of Fochlut, which is the only definite place mentioned by Patrick as having been visited by him (Conf. 23). Indeed, the whole tone of the *Confessio* implies that there were Christians in Ireland who took the same view of Patrick as did the *seniores* of Britain or of

Gaul. The writing is addressed to his Irish converts, and certainly suggests that they were likely to come in contact with persons who would detract from his merits.

On the other hand, Patrick speaks as if he were the only bishop in Ireland: *Hiberione constitutum episcopum me esse fateor* (Ep. 1); and claims to have ordained clergy *everywhere—ubique*—Conf. 38, 40, 50. He reckons his converts by *thousands, countless numbers*, Conf. 14, 38, 42, 50, Epp. 12, 16, and refers to his constant journeyings through the country (Conf. 51, 53). His was, indeed, a *laboriosus episcopatus* (Conf. 26); and the incident which called forth the *Epistola* was, no doubt, only one of the twelve perils whereby his life had been imperilled (Conf. 35). He refers to one other narrow escape from death at the hands of the heathen Irish (Conf. 52); and at the moment of writing the *Confessio* he declares: *Daily I expect either slaughter or to be defrauded, or be reduced to slavery, or an unfair attack of some kind*; and he even prays for martyrdom. *I pray Him to grant to me that I may shed my blood with those strangers and captives for His name's sake* (Conf. 55, 59). A man who can look on life so, will go far.

The only date in St. Patrick's history about which there is ever likely to be a general agreement amongst scholars is the year in which he died. Professor Bury has a long discussion in *The English Historical Review*, 1902, p. 239, sqq., of the statement by Tírechán, *A passione autem Christi colleguntur anni cccc xxx ui usque ad mortem Patricii* (Book of Armagh, fol. 9, r^o, b). Professor Bury proves that Tírechán considered A.D. 29 as the year of the Passion, and emends Tírechán's text by reading xxxiii for xxxui. This would make A.D. 461 the year of St. Patrick's death; and this is supported by the "Ultonian Annals."

BIBLICAL TEXT USED BY ST. PATRICK.

The number and wide range of quotations from the Holy Scriptures, direct and indirect, that are to be found in these two short tracts, give us reason to suspect that St. Patrick's *rusticitas* was not quite so great as his modesty represents it to have been. *Rude in speech* he certainly was, *but not in knowledge* of the Bible. Our purpose, however, at present is not to discuss St. Patrick's educational qualifications, but to sum up, as succinctly as possible, the evidence supplied by his Scriptural citations and allusions as to the character of the Biblical text used by him.

If it be asked, Do these writings bear any trace of St. Jerome's Vulgate? the answer must, in our present state of knowledge, be in the affirmative. But our assent must needs be a qualified one. The text of the *Confessio* and *Epistola* printed here is, after all, only relatively certain. In view of the occasional approximations of A to the Vulgate, as contrasted with CF₃F₄, and the fact that its evidence altogether fails us for the larger part of the work, it cannot be stated with absolute certainty that we know the very words that St. Patrick wrote. And again, the O. L. ms. evidence for the N. T., the Gospels excepted, is in truth so scanty and conflicting, that it seems precarious to assert of many renderings that they are undoubtedly Vulgate, when they may very possibly represent the O. L. text used by St. Jerome as the basis of his revision, and left unaltered by him.

With the possible exception of *sugere mammellas*, the reading of A in Conf. 18, there are no distinctively Vulgate citations from the O. T., while there are a considerable number of very remarkable purely O. L. ones. There is, indeed, a citation of Ps. xciv. 9 in Conf. 34, which is identical with the rendering in St. Jerome's Hebrew Psalter; but apparently *Hebrew* renderings are found in Cod. Veron., which is reckoned an O. L. codex. See, e.g., Conf. 5. If *sugere mammellas* is the true reading in Conf. 18, and if it can only be explained as a reference to Is. lx. 16, then it is unquestionably an instance of St. Patrick's use of St. Jerome's Vulgate; and, of course, even one such instance would necessarily affect our decision in doubtful cases. In deference to the opinion of scholars whose opinions carry weight, I have italicised these words as a Scriptural citation, but I am myself very doubtful of it: see note, pp. 287, 321.

There are two Gospel citations which may be plausibly claimed as Vulgate—(a) the quotation of S. Mark xvi. 15, 16 in Conf. 40, and (b) the allusion to S. John x. 16 in Ep. 11. I have given reasons in the note, p. 314, on the latter text, for believing the reference to be not necessarily Vulg. The quotation from S. Mark is certainly almost identical with the Vulgate, and quite unlike the three O. L. mss. that contain the verses. In this case the O. L. evidence is very scanty, and, on the other hand, the text is one which, from its familiarity and the nature of the context, we should expect a later copyist of the *Confessio* to assimilate to the Vulgate. However, as the case stands, the citation is a Vulgate one. With these two exceptions, the other Gospel citations in these tracts have O. L. support, even when they agree with the Vulg. Where the evidence is divided, St. Patrick's chief supporters are *g*, *f*, *ff*₂, *d*, *h*.

Passing on to the Acts, we have a number of short phrases which agree with the Vulg., and differ from the extant O. L. mss. (1) *Audenter dico*, ii. 29; (2) *Excitem . . . persecutionem*, xiii. 50; (3) *Alligatus spiritu*, xx. 22; (4) *Mihi protestatur*, xx. 23; (5) *Sed nihil horum uereor*, xx. 24; (6) *Lupi rapaces*, xx. 29; In (1) *d*, *e* conflict with *g*, *p*₂; in (2) *d*, *e*, *g* agree; in (3) *d* conflicts with *e*, *g*; in (4) *d*, *e*, *g* agree; in (5) *d*, *e*, *g* differ widely from each other; in (6) *d*, *e*, *g* agree. Thus, in three out of the six places the extant O. L. mss. give a most uncertain sound; and in (6), where they agree, it is most likely that St. Patrick was confusing Acts xx. 29 with the more familiar S. Matt. vii. 15, where *lupi rapaces* occurs. On the other hand, St. Patrick agrees with some form of O. L. in Acts i. 4; ii. 5; xiii. 47. It is at least possible that, in the above six places, and in many others in the Acts, the Vulgate reproduces the renderings of the O. L. text used by St. Jerome as the basis of his revision.

And the same theory has still more plausibility when we come to the Pauline Epistles. I have been warned by Mr. F. C. Burkitt that of the six mss. noticed in the list of abbreviations under Paul, only three, *d*, *e*, and *r* have a right to be reckoned as O. L. Of these *e* is a poor copy of *d*, and *r* is fragmentary. That means that we have only one continuous O. L. text for the Pauline Epistles. We have seen from the examples cited just now from the Acts, that there is no uniformity amongst O. L. mss. Is it not possible that, in the Pauline Epistles, where the Vulgate differs from *d*, it may often preserve O. L. renderings as distinguished from O. L. readings? There are some nine places in which St. Patrick's citations from the Pauline Epp. (incl. Hebrews) agree with the Vulgate against *d*, i.e. Rom. xiii. 9; 1 Cor. xv. 10; 2 Cor. iii. 2, 3; xi. 6; Phil. ii. 15; iv. 13; 2 Thess. ii. 15; Tit. iii. 5, 6; Heb. xii. 28. In every case but two, 2 Cor. xi. 6 and Heb. xii. 28, the Vulgate rendering is supported by pre-Hieronymian patristic citations quoted by Sabatier. One cannot, however, place any confidence in alleged patristic citations, unless in the case of writers whose works have been critically edited in quite recent times.

All this may possibly read like the special pleading of one who is contending for a theory of his own. I have no theory on the subject whatever, but am merely deprecating decisions based on insufficient evidence. Even if St. Patrick's use of St. Jerome's Vulgate was demonstrated, it would not be an argument against the date assigned to his death above, p. 230, i.e. A.D. 461. St. Patrick was not, as far as Biblical knowledge is concerned, a product of Ireland or Britain.

We have seen (p. 225) reason to believe that his theological training was acquired in Gaul, possibly South Gaul; and he would naturally use the Biblical text current there. If he had written more, we should doubtless be better able to explain the nature of his Biblical text. He has two readings (St. Matt. viii. 11; Phil. ii. 9) identical with those of Irenæus; three or four agreeing with Cyprian (Is. xlii. 25; xliii. 21; Ps. xlix. 15; St. John viii. 34); and one (Mal. iv. 2, 3) which is so exactly identical with the citation of the text as given by St. Augustine, that Prof. J. H. Bernard has suggested that it may be a citation from the *De Civitate Dei* rather than from the Bible. The remarkable doublet in Rom. viii. 26 (Conf. 25) is also found in a ms. of Visigothic origin; and the rendering of Rom. xiii. 9 (Ep. 9) is characteristic of Southern Gaul (Berger, *La Vulgate*, l.c.). It is to be hoped that some scholar who has a wide knowledge of O.L. and mixed Vulgate texts may, from the materials here supplied, construct an acceptable theory. The phenomena certainly are not inconsistent with the hypothesis that St. Patrick brought with him to Ireland a copy of the text current in Southern Gaul. Professor Lawlor (*Book of Mulling*, p. 134) sums up a very full discussion of the affinities of the Irish O.L. texts thus:—"The version upon which the Irish recension was founded, and from which its African, Italian, and *d* elements were derived, may have been imported from the region which gave birth to the text represented by *h*." But the extremely fragmentary nature of the extant Irish O.L. mss. (r_1, r_2, μ) renders it impossible to state positively what the relation of St. Patrick's text was to that subsequently current in Ireland.

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The Latin writings of St. Patrick are extant in the following editions:—

- (1.) *S. Patricio... adscripta Opuscula*: ... opera et studio Jacobi Waraei Equ. Aurati. 8°. Londini, 1656. This edition is professedly based on ACF₃F₄, but is very inaccurate. Beyond noting in the *Confessio* the portions not extant in A, there is no attempt to indicate the variants of the mss., which are also constantly ignored.
- (2.) The edition by Andreas Denis in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Martii, tom. ii., has been sufficiently discussed in the Introduction.
- (3.) *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*, Auct. Carolo O'Connor, S.T.D. Buckinghamiae, 1814, Tom. i., p. cvii; from C collated with A.
- (4.) *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, by Sir W. Betham. Dublin, 1827. Part II. of this contains the *Confessio* with the other Patrician documents in the Book of Armagh.

- (5.) *S. Patricii . . . Synodi, Canones, Opuscula, &c.*, scholiis illustrata a J. L. Villanueva. Dublinii, 1835. Villanueva prints the Bollandist text with variants from Ware.
- (6.) *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*: Edited . . . by A. W. Haddan, B.D., and W. Stubbs, M.A., Oxford, 1878. Vol. ii., Part ii., p. 296.

This portion of the work was undertaken by Mr. A. Haddan; but he died five years before its publication. The plan adopted is to print A, where available, without any correction of its blunders, and elsewhere the Bollandist text. An elaborate collation is given of CF₃F₄, and of the Bollandist text. The extraordinary number and nature of the positive mis-statements in this *apparatus criticus* can only be explained by the supposition that Mr. Haddan's notes were misunderstood by the person who saw them through the press.

- (7.) *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, with other documents relating to that Saint, edited by Whitley Stokes, D.C.L., &c. London, 1887, part ii., p. 367. Dr. W. Stokes prints A with corrections from C; and where A is not available, he prints C with interpolations and variations from the Bollandist text.

To the above seven editions of the Latin text must be added a Paper by Sir Samuel Ferguson, *On the Patrician Documents*, printed in vol. xxvii., *Pol. Lit. and Antiqq.*, *Trans. Royal Irish Academy*, 1885. This paper includes an admirable translation in blank verse of the *Confessio* and *Epistola* from the copies of A and F₃, of the *Confessio*, printed in the Appendix to Part II. of the *Facsimiles of National MSS. of Ireland*, and from the Bollandist text of the *Epistola*.

The *Life of St. Patrick* by Muirchu maccu-Mactheni is contained partly in the *Book of Armagh* (cited here as Muirchu A) and partly in a ms. in the Royal Library of Brussels which was published in 1882 by the Rev. E. Hogan, S.J., in *Analecta Bollandiana*, Tom. i., p. 531. The portion of the *Life* which is only found in the Brussels ms. is cited here as Muirchu B.

The *Memoranda* of Tirechán are quoted from the *Book of Armagh*, fol. 9 r° sqq.

The other *Lives*, except the *Tripartite Life* published by W. Stokes, are quoted from J. Colgan's *Triadis Thaumaturgæ . . . Acta*, 1647.

The *Dieta Patricii* are quoted from the *Book of Armagh*, fol. 9, r°, a.

The *Hymns* of SS. Fiacc and Sechnall or Secundinus are quoted from *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society by J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson. London, 1898.

St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, by J. H. Todd, D.D. Dublin, 1864.

The following articles by Professor J. B. Bury, of Cambridge:—

The Oldest Life of St. Patrick, *Guardian*, November 20 and November 27, 1901.

Tirechán's Memoir of St. Patrick, *English Historical Review*, April and October, 1902.

The Tradition of Muirchu's Text, *Hermathena*, 1902.

The Itinerary of St. Patrick in Connaught, according to Tirechán, *Proceedings, Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiv., sec. c, pt. 3, 1903.

Review in *English Historical Review*, July, 1903, of *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, by Heinrich Zimmer, trans. by A. Meyer. London, 1903.

CONFESSIO.

INCIPIUNT LIBRI SANCTI PATRICII EPISCOPI.¹

1. Ego Patricius peccator, rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium et contemptibilis sum² apud plurimos.

Patrem habui Calpornum³ diaconum filium quendam⁴ Potiti⁵ presbyteri qui fuit⁶ uico Bannauem⁷ Taberniae. Uillulam⁸ enim prope⁵ habuit, ubi ego capturam dedi.⁹

Annorum eram tunc fere xui.¹⁰ Deum¹¹ uerum ignorabam, et Hiberione in captiuitate adductus sum, cum tot milia¹² hominum, secundum merita nostra, quia *a Deo recessimus et praecepta eius non custodiimus*, et sacerdotibus nostris non oboedientes¹³ fuimus qui¹⁰ nostram salutem admonebant. Et Dominus *induxit super nos iram animationis*¹⁴ suae et *dispersit nos*¹⁵ in gentibus multis etiam usque¹⁶ ad ultimum terrae ubi nunc paruitas mea esse uidetur¹⁷ inter alienigenas.¹⁸

2. Et ibi¹⁹ Dominus *aperuit sensum*²⁰ incredulitatis meae²¹ ut²² uel sero rememorarem²³ dilecta mea et²⁴ ut *conuerterem*²⁵ toto corde ad¹⁵ Dominum Deum²⁶ meum qui *respexit humilitatem* meam et missertus est²⁷ adoliscientiae²⁸ ignorantiae meae, et custodiuit me antequam

¹ Incipit Confessio Sancti Patricii Episcopi CF₃F₄ (Confesio . . Patrici F₃) add Q: ÷ xvi K† Ap† F₃; add xvi K† Aprili F₄; Incipit uita Beati Patricii B; no title in R. ² contemptibilissimus *rell.* ³ Calpurnium F₃R; Calpornium BCF₄.

⁴ quondam *rell.* (quondam filium R). ⁵ *ins.* filii Odissi A^{mc}. ⁶ *ins.* in CF₄. ⁷ Banaue *rell.* ⁸ uillam B. ⁹ didici B. ¹⁰ quindecim R. ¹¹ *ins.* enim *rell.* ¹² milibus F₄ *corr.* ¹³ inobedientes *rell.*

¹⁴ indignationis B. ¹⁵ iram—nos *om.* C. ¹⁶ *om.* usque R. ¹⁷ uidetur esse *rell.* ¹⁸ alienigenas BCF₄R; alienienas F₃. ¹⁹ ubi *rell.* ²⁰ sensus CF₃F₄R. ²¹ sens. cordis mei (mee F₄) *incred. rell.* ²² *om.* ut B.

²³ For uel—remem., serorem orarem A *with z in marg.* ²⁴ *om.* et A. ²⁵ confirmarem A; conuerterem CF₃F₄R. ²⁶ *om.* Deum *rell.* ²⁷ *om.* est BF₃R.

²⁸ *ins.* et B; adol. mee et ignorantie CF₃F₄R.

1. Es. 59, 13; Exod. 20, 6; Es. 42, 25; Jer. 9, 16; Act. 13, 47.
2. Luc. 24, 45; Joel 2, 12; Luc. 1, 48.

scirem eum et antequam saperem uel distinguerem inter bonum et malum et muniuit¹ me et consulatus est me² ut pater filium.

3. Unde autem³ tacere non possum, neque expedit quidem,⁴ tanta beneficia et tantam gratiam quam⁵ mihi Dominus praestare⁶ dignatus est⁷ in terra captiuitatis meae; quia haec est retributio⁸ nostra ut post correptionem⁹ uel agnitionem Dei exaltare et confiteri¹⁰ mirabilia eius coram omni natione quae est¹¹ sub omni¹² caelo.¹³

4. Quia non est alius¹⁴ Deus nec umquam fuit nec ante¹⁵ nec erit post haec¹⁶ praeter Deum Patrem ingenitum, sine principio, a quo est omne principium,¹⁷ omnia tenentem¹⁸ ut dicimus¹⁹, et eius²⁰ Filium Iesum Christum, qui²¹ cum Patre scilicet semper fuisse²² testamur ante originem saeculi spiritaliter apud Patrem inenarrabiliter²³ genitum ante omne principium. Et²⁴ per ipsum²⁵ facta sunt²⁶ uisibilia et inuisibilia,²⁷ hominem factum,²⁸ morte deuicta²⁹ in caelis ad Patrem receptum.³⁰ Et dedit illi omnem potestatem super omne nomen caelestium et³¹ terrestrium et infernorum, et³² omnis lingua confiteatur ei³³ quia Dominus et Deus³⁴ est Iesus Christus³⁵ quem credimus. Et expectamus³⁶ aduentum ipsius³⁷ mox futurum³⁸ iudex³⁹ uiuorum atque mortuorum, Qui reddet unicuique secundum facta⁴⁰ sua. Et effudit⁴¹ in nobis⁴² habunde Spiritum Sanctum,⁴³ donum et pignus immortalitatis, qui facit credentes et oboedientes ut sint filii Dei⁴⁴ et coheredes Christi,⁴⁵ quem confitemur et adoramus unum Deum⁴⁶ in Trinitate sacri⁴⁷ nominis.

5. Ipse enim dixit per profetam, *Inuoca me in die tribulationis tuae et liberabo te et magnificabis me.* Et iterum inquit, *Opera autem⁴⁸ Dei reuelare et confiteri honorificum est.*

¹ monuit *rell.* ² mei A. ³ ego quidem B; autem c. *punct. del.* A.
⁴ om. quidem B. ⁵ quæ R. ⁶ om. Dom. praest. A. ⁷ om. est A. ⁸ ins. mea
c. *punct. del.* A. ⁹ correctionem F₄ corr. R; add nostram R. ¹⁰ exaltaremur et
confiteremur *rell.* ¹¹ om. est B; R *def.* ¹² om. omni BR. ¹³ ins. est B.
¹⁴ Non enim alius est B. ¹⁵ om. nec ante CF₃F₄R. ¹⁶ hunc *rell.* ¹⁷ om. omnia
— principium. Et B. ¹⁸ tenens F₃. ¹⁹ diximus F₃R. ²⁰ huius *rell.*
(B *def.*). ²¹ quem *rell.* (B *def.*). ²² fuisse semper CF₃F₄; fu. test. semp.
R (B *def.*). ²³ inerrabiliter A. ²⁴ om. Et *rell.* ²⁵ ins.
quippe B. ²⁶ ins. omnia B. ²⁷ om. et inuis. A. ²⁸ homo factus F₃.
²⁹ deuicta morte *rell.* ³⁰ om. ad Pat. rec. A; receptus F₃; rec. ad Pat. R.
³¹ om. et B; om. et terrestrium R. ³² ut BCF₄R. ³³ om. ei *rell.* ³⁴ Deus
et Dominus R; om. et Deus est B. ³⁵ ins. in gloria est Dei Patris B.
³⁶ excēpectamus A. ³⁷ om. ipsius A. ³⁸ futurus F₄ corr. ³⁹ iudicem B;
ins. futurus R (at end of line, in marg.). ⁴⁰ opera R. ⁴¹ infudit *rell.*
⁴² uobis A. ⁴³ Spiritus Sancti *rell.* ⁴⁴ ins. Patris *rell.* ⁴⁵ om. et coh.
Chr. B. ⁴⁶ unum Deum ador. B. ⁴⁷ sacrosancti B. ⁴⁸ A has autem writ over.

3. 2 Par. 6, 37; Ps. 115, 12; Col. 2, 2; Ps. 88, 6; Act. 2, 5. 4. Col. 1, 16; Marc. 16, 19; Phil. 2, 9; Rom. 2, 6; Tit. 3, 5; Act. 2, 38; 2 Cor. 1, 22; Rom. 8, 16. 5. Ps. 49, 15; Tob. 12, 7.

6. Tamen etsi in multis imperfectus sum opto *fratribus et cognatis* meis¹ scire qualitatem meam² ut possint perspicere³ uotum animae meae.

7. Non⁴ ignoro *testimonium Domini* mei qui in psalmo⁵ testatur, *Perdes eos⁶ qui loquuntur mendacium.* Et iterum inquit,⁷ *Os quod⁸ s mentitur occidit animam.* Et idem Dominus in euangelio inquit,⁹ *Verbum otiosum quod locuti fuerint homines reddent rationem de eo¹⁰ in die iudicii.*

8. Unde autem¹¹ uehementer debueram¹² *cum timore et tremore* metuere hanc sententiam in die illa ubi nemo se poterit¹³ subtrahere¹⁰ uel abscondere, sed omnes omnino redditori sumus *rationem* etiam minimorum peccatorum¹⁴ *ante tribunal Domini Christi.*¹⁵

9. Quapropter olim cogitavi scribere, sed et¹⁶ usque nunc hessitavi; timui enim ne incederem¹⁷ in¹⁸ linguam hominum,¹⁹ quia non dedici²⁰ sicut et²¹ caeteri qui optime itaque²² iura²³ et sacras literas utraque²⁴ 15 pari modo combiberunt, et sermones²⁵ illorum ex infantia numquam motarunt,²⁶ sed magis ad perfectum semper addiderunt. Nam *sermo et loquela*²⁷ nostra translata est in linguam alienam, sicut²⁸ facile potest probari²⁹ ex salua³⁰ scripturae meae, qualiter sum ego³¹ in sermonibus instructus atque eruditus; quia inquit Sapiens, *Per linguam* 20 *dinoscetur*³² et³³ *sensus et scientia et doctrina ueritatis.*³⁴

10. Sed quid³⁵ prodest excussatio iuxta ueritatem, praesertim cum praesumptione? quatinus³⁶ modo ipse adpeto in senectute mea³⁷ quod in iuuentute non comparaui; quod³⁸ obstiterunt³⁹ peccata mea⁴⁰ ut confirmarem quod⁴¹ ante⁴² perlegeram.⁴³ Sed⁴⁴ quis me credit⁴⁵ etsi 25 dixero quod ante praefatus sum?

¹ cognotatis meis A; fratres et cognatos meos CF₃F₄R.

² ins. et rell.

³ perficere A; R def.

⁴ ins. enim B.

⁵ psalmo A.

⁶ omnes BR,

perdes qui C. ⁷ om. inquit rell. ⁸ qui R. ⁹ om. in eu. inq. A; om. inquit R.

¹⁰ de eo rat. R.; pro eo rationem BCF₃F₄. ¹¹ ego deberem B. ¹² om. debueram

AB. ¹³ poterit se rell. ¹⁴ ins. nostrorum B. ¹⁵ Christi Domini CF₃F₄R;

Domini nostri Iesu Christi B. ¹⁶ om. et rell. ¹⁷ inciderem R. ¹⁸ om. in rell.

¹⁹ ins. et rell. ²⁰ legi rell. ²¹ om. et rell. ²² For itaque—illorum,

B has, sacris litteris imbuti sunt, et studium suum; A has in marg., z incertus

liber hic and dots after comb. ²³ So J. Gwynn; iure mss. ²⁴ utroque A.

²⁵ sermonem CF₃F₄R. ²⁶ mutauerunt rell. ²⁷ lingua B. ²⁸ sed B. ²⁹ probare B.

³⁰ exaliue A with z writ over and z in marg.; ex saluue B. ³¹ ego sum B.

³² dinoscitur rell. ³³ om. et B. ³⁴ uarietatis CF₃F₄R. ³⁵ om. quid rell.

³⁶ ut B. ³⁷ om. mea—iuuentute C. ³⁸ quia CF₃F₄R; om. B. ³⁹ ins. enim B.

⁴⁰ om. peccata mea A. ⁴¹ quodque rell. ⁴² ins. non rell. ⁴³ legeram R.

⁴⁴ ins. si A. ⁴⁵ credidit A.

6. Luc. 21, 16. 7. 2 Tim. 1, 8; Ps. 5, 7; Sap. 1, 11; Matt. 12, 36.

8. Eph. 6, 5; Rom. 14, 10, 12. 9. Joh. 8, 43; Sir. 4, 29.

Adolescens, immo pene puer in uerbis capturam dedi,¹ antequam scirem quid peterem uel² quid adpeterem uel quid uitare³ debueram. Unde ergo hodie erubescio et uehementer⁴ pertimeo⁵ denudare imperitiam meam, quia non⁶ desértus⁷ breuitate sermonem⁸ explicare nequeo. 5 Sicut enim Spiritus gestit⁹ et animas¹⁰ et sensus monstrat¹¹ adfectus.¹²

11. Sed si itaque datum mihi¹³ fuisset sicut et¹⁴ caeteris, uerumtamen non silerem *propter retributionem*. Et si forte uidetur¹⁵ apud aliquantos me in hoc praeponere cum mea inscientia et *tardiori lingua*, sed¹⁶ scriptum est,¹⁷ *Linguae¹⁸ balbutientes uelociter discent loqui¹⁹ pacem*. 10 Quanto magis nos adpetere debemus qui sumus, inquit,²⁰ *aepistola Christi, in salutem*,²¹ *usque ad ultimum terrae*, etsi non deserta, sed ratum²² fortissimum²³ scriptum²⁴ *in cordibus uestris*,²⁵ *non atramento sed Spiritu Dei uiui*. Et²⁶ iterum Spiritus testatur, *Et rusticationem²⁷ ab Altissimo creata est*.²⁸

12. Unde ego²⁹ primus rusticus, profuga, inductus scilicet qui nescio in posterum providere,³⁰ sed illud scio³¹ certissime quia utique priusquam humiliarer, ego eram uelut lapis qui iacet in luto profundo; et uenit³² *qui potens est*, et in sua missericordia sustulit me, et quidem scilicet sursum adleuauit et collocauit me in summo pariete.³³

20 Et inde fortiter³⁴ debueram exclamare ad *retribuendum*³⁵ quoque aliquid Domino pro tantis beneficiis eius, hic et in aeternum, quae mens hominum³⁶ aestimare non potest.

13. Unde autem ammiramini³⁷ *magni et pusilli qui³⁸ timetis Deum*, et uos dominicati³⁹ rethorici audite⁴⁰ et scrutamini. Quis⁴¹ me stultum 25 excitauit de medio eorum qui uidentur esse sapientes⁴² et legis⁴³ periti et *potentes in sermone* et in omni re? Et me quidem detestabilem⁴⁴

¹ didici B. ² om. quid peterem uel. *rell.* ³ inuitare R. ⁴ ins. ualde B; R *def.* ⁵ protimeo A; pertimesco B; R *def.*; ins. palam B. ⁶ om. non *rell.* ⁷ So

W. Stokes; non possum de deeritis A *with z in marg.*; disertis BF₄R; desertis CF₃.

⁸ So N. J. D. White; sermonis BF₄ *corr.*; sermone ACF₃R. ⁹ gessit CF₃F₄R.

¹⁰ animus *rell.* ¹¹ monstrare F₃; ins. et B. ¹² effectus R. ¹³ michi datum B.

¹⁴ om. et F₄R. ¹⁵ uideatur R. ¹⁶ ins. etiam *rell.* ¹⁷ ins. enim BCF₃F₄

(*writ over*). ¹⁸ ins. et F₃.^{*} ¹⁹ loqui discent B. ²⁰ nos A. ²¹ om. in sal. B.

²² raptum R; rata F₄ *corr.*; ins. et *rell.*; A *has z in marg.* ²³ fortissime F₄ *corr.*

²⁴ scripta *rell.* ²⁵ nostris *rell.* ²⁶ om. et-testatur B. ²⁷ rusticatio *rell.*; A

has z in marg. ²⁸ ins. teste eodem Spiritu Dei uiui B. ²⁹ ergo CF₃R.

³⁰ prouidere B. ³¹ scio illud CF₃F₄R; om. scio B. ³² ueniens A^{*}. ³³ in sua

parte A. ³⁴ forte B. ³⁵ So F₄ *corr.*; retribuendam mss. ³⁶ humana B.

³⁷ ins. itaque *rell.*; R *def.* ³⁸ et uos dominicati qui timetis Deum . . reth. &c., A.

³⁹ domni CF₃F₄; domini BR; ins. ignari *rell.* ⁴⁰ ins. ergo *rell.* ⁴¹ qui R.

⁴² sapientes esse BCF₃F₄. ⁴³ leges A. ⁴⁴ detestabilis A.

11. Ps. 118, 112; Exod. 4, 10; Es. 32, 4; 2 Cor. 3, 2; Act. 13, 47; Sir. 7, 16.

12. Ps. 118, 67; Ps. 68, 14; Luc. 1, 49; Ps. 115, 12. 13. Apoc. 19, 5; Act. 7, 22.

huius mundi prae¹ caeteris inspirauit, si talis essem; dummodo autem ut *cum metu et reuerantia* et *sine querella* fideliter prodessem² genti ad quam *caritas Christi* transtulit et³ donauit me, in uita mea, si dignus⁴ fuero, denique ut cum humilitate et ueraciter deseruirem illis.

14. In *mensura* itaque *fidei* Trinitatis oportet distinguere, *sine repre-* 5 *hensione* periculi notum facere *donum Dei* et *consolationem aeternam*, sine timore fiducialiter Dei nomen⁵ ubique expandere ut etiam *post obitum meum* exagallias⁶ relinquere⁷ fratribus et filiis meis quos in Domino ego baptizauī,⁸ tot milia hominum.

15. Et non eram⁹ dignus neque talis ut hoc Dominus seruulo suo 10 concederet post erumpnas et tantas moles,¹⁰ post captiuitatem, post annos multos, in gentem illam¹¹ tantam gratiam mihi donaret, quod ego aliquando¹² in iuuentute mea numquam sperauī¹³ neque cogitauī.

16. Sed postquam Hiberione¹⁴ deueneram, cotidie itaque¹⁵ pecora pascebam, et frequens¹⁶ in die orabam; magis¹⁷ ac magis accedebat 15 amor¹⁸ Dei et timor ipsius,¹⁹ et fides augebatur et spiritus agebatur,²⁰ ut in die una usque ad centum orationes et in nocte prope similiter, ut²¹ etiam in siluis et²² monte manebam.²³ Ante lucem excitabar²⁴ ad orationem per niuem per gelu per pluuiam²⁵; et nihil mali sentiebam,²⁶ neque ulla pigritia erat in me, sicut modo uideo, quia tunc *spiritus* in 20 me²⁷ *feruebat*.

17. Et ibi scilicet quadam²⁸ nocte in somno audiui uocem dicentem²⁹ mihi, Bene ieiunas, cito³⁰ iturus ad patriam tuam.³¹ Et iterum³² post paululum tempus audiui *responsum*³³ dicentem³⁴ mihi, Ecce nauis tua parata est. Et non³⁵ erat prope, sed forte habebat 25 .cc. milia passus. Et ibi numquam fueram, nec ibi notum quemquam de hominibus habebam.³⁶ Et deinde postmodum conuersus sum

¹ de A*. ² om. prodessem A. ³ ut CF₃F₄*R. ⁴ uiuus A*. ⁵ ins. nomine CF₃ (nomone) F₄. ⁶ A has in marg., incertus liber, and z with ~ over g; exgallias BCF₃; ex gallicis F₄ corr.; gallias R. ⁷ relinquerē F₄ corr. ⁸ ego in Domino baptizauī BCF₃R; ego bapt. in Dom. F₄. ⁹ etiam CF₃F₄R. ¹⁰ tante molis *rell.* ¹¹ magnam R. ¹² aliquando ego B. ¹³ For numq. sper., non quia desperauī *rell.* ¹⁴ Hiberionem R. ¹⁵ igitur *rell.* ¹⁶ frequent F₄ corr. ¹⁷ magisque B. ¹⁸ timor BF₃F₄R. ¹⁹ illius *rell.* (F₃ illis). ²⁰ augebatur F₃. ²¹ et B; ut et R. ²² ins. in *rell.* ²³ ins. et *rell.* ²⁴ exercitabar CF₃F₄R. ²⁵ pluuiam per gelu R. ²⁶ om. sentiebam B. ²⁷ in me spiritus *rell.* ²⁸ quidam C. ²⁹ ins. sib A c. punct. del. ³⁰ ins. ieiunans A c. punct. del. ³¹ ins. et terram *rell.* ³² om. iterum *rell.*; R def. ³³ resp. aud. B. ³⁴ dicens F₄ corr. ³⁵ om. non BCF₃F₄; R def. ³⁶ hab. quemq. de hom. CF₃F₄R quemq. hab. de hom. B.

13. Heb. 12, 28; 1 Thess. 2, 10; 2 Cor. 5, 14. 14. Rom. 12, 3; Phil. 2, 15; Joh. 4, 10; 2 Thess. 2, 15; 2 Pet. 1, 15. 16. Act. 18, 25. 17. Rom. 11, 4.

in fugam, et intermissi hominem cum quo¹ fueram .ui. annis²; et ueni in uirtute Dei qui uiam meam ad bonum dirigebat,³ et nihil⁴ metuebam donec⁵ perueni ad nauem illam.

18. Et⁶ illa die⁷ qua⁸ perueni profecta est nauis de loco suo. Et locutus sum ut haberem⁹ unde¹⁰ nauigarem¹¹ cum illis; et¹² gubernatori displicuit illi,¹³ et acriter cum indignatione¹⁴ respondit, Nequaquam tu nobiscum adpetes¹⁵ ire.

Et cum haec audiissem sepe raui me ab illis ut¹⁶ uenirem ad tegorolum¹⁷ ubi¹⁸ hospitabam; et in itinere caepi orare; et antequam orationem consummare audiui unum ex¹⁹ illis, et²⁰ fortiter exclamabat²¹ post me, Ueni cito quia uocant te homines isti; et statim ad illos reuersus²² sum.

Et coeperunt mihi dicere,²³ Ueni, quia ex fide recipimus²⁴ te.²⁵ Fac nobiscum amicitiam quomodo uolueris. Et in²⁶ illa die itaque²⁷ reppuli¹⁵ *sugere mammellas* eorum²⁸ propter timorem²⁹ Dei, sed³⁰ uerumtamen ab illis speraui³¹ uenire in fidem³² Iesu³³ Christi, quia gentes erant, et ob³⁴ hoc obtinui³⁵ cum illis, et protinus nauigauimus.³⁶

19. Et post triduum terram caepimus, et xxiii³⁷ dies per disertum iter fecimus, et cibus defuit illis³⁸ et fames inualuit super³⁹ eos.⁴⁰ Et alio⁴¹ die coepit gubernator mihi⁴² dicere, Quid,⁴³ Christiane, tu dicis? Deus tuus magnus et omnipotens est⁴⁴; quare ergo pro nobis orare non potes⁴⁵ quia nos⁴⁶ a⁴⁷ fame periclitamur; difficile est⁴⁸ enim umquam ut aliquem hominem⁴⁹ uideamus. Ego enim⁵⁰ euidenter

¹ om. quo A. ² annis sex *rell.*; R *def.* ³ et in uirtute Dei ueni ad bonum qui uiam meam dir. B. ⁴ For et nihil, ex nihilo CF₄; R *def.* ⁵ om. donec F₃.
⁶ Et mox cum perueni ad eam profecta est de loco suo B. ⁷ om. die CF₃F₄R.
⁸ ad quam F₄ *corr.*; om. qua R. ⁹ abirem A. ¹⁰ inde BCF₃R; unde AF₄.
¹¹ nauigare *rell.* ¹² For et—illi, gubernatori autem displicuit B. ¹³ om. illi BF₄ *corr.* ¹⁴ interrogatione A^o; indignationem R. ¹⁵ adpetas *rell.*
¹⁶ et ut BR; ut et CF₃ *corr.* F₄. ¹⁷ tuguriolum *rell.*; om. ad F₄. ¹⁸ ibi F₄.
¹⁹ clamare ex illis fortiter, R. ²⁰ om. et *rell.* ²¹ exclamare BF₃; exclamantem F₄ *corr.* ²² reuersuru R (*end of word def.*). ²³ dicere mihi R. ²⁴ recepimus *rell.* ²⁵ *ins.* et *rell.* ²⁶ om. in R. ²⁷ om. itaque B.
²⁸ repulsus sum fugere amicitias illorum CF₄; repulis fugire mammas illorum F₃R; reppuli sugere mammas eorum B. ²⁹ om. timorem B; R *def.* ³⁰ om. sed F₄ *corr.* ³¹ sper. ab illis *rell.* ³² For uenire—fid., ut mihi dicerent, Ueni in fide, *rell.* ³³ om. Iesu B; R *def.* ³⁴ om. ob *rell.* ³⁵ obtinuit, BR.
³⁶ om. et—nau. A. ³⁷ uiginti et septem. *rell.*; om. et F₃. ³⁸ cibus autem et potus defecit nobis B. ³⁹ in R. ⁴⁰ nos B. ⁴¹ alia *rell.*
⁴² michi gub. R. ⁴³ *ins.* est *rell.* ⁴⁴ est et omnip. R. ⁴⁵ non pot. pro nob. orare *rell.*; add ora pro nobis B. ⁴⁶ om. nos B. ⁴⁷ om. a BRF₄ *corr.*
⁴⁸ om. est AF₃R. ⁴⁹ ut al. hom. umq. *rell.* ⁵⁰ uero B.

dixi illis, *Conuertemini ex fide et ex toto corde*¹ ad Dominum Deum meum cui nihil est impossibile,² ut hodie³ cibum mittat uobis⁴ in uiam uestram usque dum satiamini,⁵ quia ubique habundat illi.

Et⁶ adiuuante⁷ Deo ita factum est. Ecce grex porcorum in uia⁸ ante oculos nostros apparuit,⁹ et multos ex illis interfecerunt et ibi¹⁰ .ii. noctes¹¹ manserunt; et¹² bene refecti, et canes¹³ eorum repleti¹⁴ sunt, quia multi ex illis¹⁵ defecerunt et¹⁶ secus uiam seminiui relict¹⁷ sunt.

Et post haec¹⁸ summas gratias egerunt Deo, et ego honorificatus sum sub oculis eorum, et¹⁹ ex hac die abundanter cibum habuerunt. Etiam *mel siluistre* inuenierunt,²⁰ et mihi *partem obtulerunt*. Et unus ex illis dixit, *Hoc immolaticum*²¹ est. Deo gratias, exinde nihil gustauit.

20. Eadem uero nocte²² eram dormiens, et fortiter temptauit me²³ Satanas, quod²⁴ memor ero *quandiu fuero*²⁵ in hoc corpore. Et cecidit²⁶ super me ueluti saxum ingens,²⁷ et nihil membrorum meorum²⁸ praeualui.²⁹ Sed unde mihi³⁰ uenit³¹ in³² spiritum³³ ut³⁴ Heliam uocarem?³⁵ Et in hoc³⁶ uidi in caelum³⁷ solem oriri, et dum clamarem³⁸ Heliam, Heliam,³⁹ uiribus meis⁴⁰ ecce splendor solis illius cecidit⁴¹ super me, et statim discussit a me omnem⁴² grauitudinem.⁴³ Et credo quod a Christo Domino⁴⁴ meo subuentus⁴⁵ sum, et Spiritus eius iam tunc clamabat⁴⁶ pro me. Et spero⁴⁷ quod sic erit in die presurae meae, sicut in aeuangelio inquit: *In illa die*, Dominus testatur, *Non*

¹ om. ex fide et B; om. et F₃R; om. et—corde A; add uestro R. ² quia n. e. illi in p. *rell.* (imp. illi B). ³ om. hodie A. ⁴ mit. uob. cib. B; mit. cib. R; nobis F₃R. ⁵ satiemi *rell.* ⁶ om. et *rell.* ⁷ adiuante A; ins. ergo B. ⁸ ins. ueniebat B. ⁹ om. apparuit *rell.* ¹⁰ ubi R. ¹¹ noctes duas B. ¹² om. et *rell.* ¹³ carnes CF₄*; carne F₄ *corr.* ¹⁴ releuati CF₄; reuelati BF₃R. ¹⁵ eis F₄. ¹⁶ om. def. et A. ¹⁷ derelicti *rell.* ¹⁸ hoc *rell.* ¹⁹ om. et—habuerunt A; ex illa autem die cib. habund. hab. Sed B. ²⁰ inuenerunt BCF₃F₄; de inuene R. ²¹ om. Hoc A; immolatum F₃F₄ *corr.* immolatum B; immolatum CR (inmo. R). ²² om. nocte A. ²³ me tempt. R. ²⁴ cuius F₄ *corr.* ²⁵ fuero CF₃R; fuero F₄ *corr.* ²⁶ saxa ingentia *rell.* ¶ B breaks off. ²⁷ om. meorum A. ²⁸ praeualens A. ²⁹ om. mihi *Boll.*; me CF₃F₄*R. ³⁰ ins. ignoro *Boll.* F₄ *corr.*; ins. ignarum CF₃R. ³¹ et F₃R; ut *Boll.* ³² spiritu *rell.* ³³ om. ut *rell.* ³⁴ inuocarem *Boll.*; uocare F₄ *corr.* ³⁵ inter haec *rell.* ³⁶ caelo *rell.*; solem in celo R. ³⁷ clamabam CF₃F₄R. ³⁸ om. Heliam (2) A; add totis *Boll.* ³⁹ ins. et F₃R. ⁴⁰ cecidit *Boll.* ⁴¹ om. omnem A. ⁴² grauedinem *Boll.* ⁴³ om. Domino *Boll.* ⁴⁴ om. subu.—tunc A. ⁴⁵ clamauit *rell.* ⁴⁶ Spero autem *Boll.* ⁴⁷ In—annos. So CF₃F₄R (test. Dom. F₃; illo R, def. qui loquitur—iterum); *Boll.*, euangelio Dom. test, In illa die, inquit, non uos, &c.; A, Inquit Dominus non uos estis. multos adhuc, &c., with z in marg.

19. Joel 2, 12; Luc. 1, 37; Matt. 15, 32; Luc. 10, 30; Matt. 3, 4; Luc. 24, 42; 1 Cor. 10. 28. 20. 2 Pet. 1, 13; Ps. 49, 15; Matt. 10, 19.

uos estis qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris uestri qui loquitur in uobis.

21. Et iterum post annos multos adhuc capturam dedi.¹ Ea² nocte prima itaque mansi cum illis. *Responsum autem diuinum* ⁵ audiui dicentem mihi,³ Duobus autem mensibus⁴ eris cum illis. Quod ita factum est. Nocte⁵ illa sexagensima⁶ liberauit me Dominus de manibus eorum.

22. Etiam⁷ in itinere praeuidit⁸ nobis cibum et ignem et siccitatem cotidie donec decimo⁹ die peruenimus¹⁰ omnes.¹¹ Sicut superius in-
¹⁰ sinuauimus, xx et .iiii. dies per¹² disertum iter fecimus.¹³ Et ea nocte qua peruenimus¹⁴ omnes¹⁵ de cibo uero¹⁶ nihil habuimus.

23. Et¹⁷ iterum post paucos annos in Britannis¹⁸ eram cum parentibus meis, qui me ut filium susceperunt¹⁹ et ex fide rogauerunt me ut uel modo ego²⁰ post tantas tribulationes quas ego pertuli nusquam²¹ ab
¹⁵ illis discederem.

Et ibi scilicet uidi²² in visu noctis²³ uirum uenientem quasi de Hiberione, cui nomen Uictoricus,²⁴ cum aepistolis innumerabilibus.²⁵ Et dedit mihi unam ex his,²⁶ et legi²⁷ principium aepistolae continentem, Uox Hyberionacum²⁸; et dum²⁹ recitabam principium³⁰ aepistolae
²⁰ putabam³¹ ipso momento³² audire uocem ipsorum³³ qui erant iuxta siluam Focluti³⁴ quae est prope mare occidentale,³⁵ et sic exclamauerunt quasi ex uno ore,³⁶ Rogamus te, sancte puer,³⁷ ut uenias et adhuc ambulas³⁸ inter nos.

¹ in capt. decidi *Boll.* *Boll.* transposes Et iterum—manibus eorum and In itinere—habuimus. ² Nocte uero prima mansi *Boll.* R *def.* ³ om. dic. mihi A; dicens *Boll.* F₄ *corr.* dicente F₃ (mihi *def.* in R). ⁴ duos menses, *rell.*; R *def.* ⁵ ins. igitur *Boll.* R *def.* ⁶ sexagesimo die CF₃F₄; R *def.* ⁷ om. etiam *Boll.*; ecce CF₃F₄R. ⁸ autem nostro prouidit, *Boll.* ⁹ x decimo A; quarto decimo *rell.* ¹⁰ praeuenimus *Boll.*; om. peruenimus—qua F₃. ¹¹ homines *Boll.* ad homines CF₄; ... omnes R. ¹² om. dies per A; R *def.* ¹³ facimus A*. ¹⁴ praeuiimus *Boll.* ¹⁵ ad homines CF₄. ¹⁶ om. uero; R *Boll.* *def.* ¹⁷ om. et *Boll.* ¹⁸ Britannia *Boll.*; Britannis CF₄; Britannis F₃R. ¹⁹ exceperunt *Boll.* ²⁰ om. ego *Boll.* R; me CF₃F₄. ²¹ numquam *rell.*; R *def.* ²² For uidi—uisu, in sinu A. ²³ nocte *Boll.* (pr. de) CF₃F₄R. ²⁴ H. Uictoricus nomine *Boll.*; H. Uictoricus nomen CF₃F₄R. ²⁵ ins. uidi A; R *def.* ²⁶ illis *rell.* ²⁷ lego *Boll.* ²⁸ Hiberionacum CF₄R; Hiberio&enacum F₃; Hyberionarum *Boll.* ²⁹ cum *rell.* ³⁰ initium *Boll.*; R. *def.* ³¹ ins. enim A. ³² ipse in mente A. ³³ illorum R. ³⁴ uirgulti B; uirgulti uolutique CF₄ (uolutique *being underdotted* in F₄); uirgultique F₃; uirgulti ueluti R. ³⁵ occidentem CF₃F₄R. ³⁶ om. quasi—ore A. ³⁷ sanctum puerum CF₃F₄R; om. ut *Boll.* ³⁸ ambules *rell.*; int. nos amb. R.

Et ualde *compunctus sum corde* et¹ amplius non potui legere, et sic expertus² sum. Deo gratias, quia post plurimos annos³ praestitit illis Dominus secundum clamorem illorum.⁴

24. Et, alia nocte, *nescio, Deus scit*, utrum⁵ in me an iuxta me, uerbis peritissimis⁶ quos ego audiui et non potui intellegere nissi ad posterum⁷ orationis sic effatus⁸ est, Qui *dedit animam suam pro te*,⁹ ipse est qui loquitur in te.¹⁰ Et sic expertus¹¹ sum gaudibundus.¹²

25. Et iterum uidi¹³ in me ipsum orantem, et eram¹⁴ quasi¹⁵ intra corpus meum, et audiui super me,¹⁶ hoc est super *interiorem hominem*, et ibi¹⁷ fortiter orabat gemitibus. Et inter haec *stupebam* et ammira-¹⁸ bam¹⁸ et cogitabam quis esset qui in me orabat;¹⁹ sed ad postremum orationis sic²⁰ effatus²¹ est ut sit Spiritus;²² et sic expertus sum, et recordatus sum apostolo dicente,²³ *Spiritus adiuuat infirmitates orationis nostrae*.²⁴ Nam²⁵ quod²⁶ oremus sicut oportet²⁷ nescimus, sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus²⁸ quae uerbis exprimi non possunt.²⁹ Et iterum, Dominus³⁰ aduocatus³¹ noster³² postulat pro nobis. ¶

26. Et quando temptatus sum ab aliquantis senioribus meis qui uenerunt et³³ peccata mea contra laboriosum episcopatum meum — utique³⁴ in illo die fortiter *impulsus sum ut caderem* hic et in aeternum; sed Dominus pepercit *proselito et peregrino propter nomen suum* benigne³⁵ et ualde mihi³⁶ subuenit in hac conculcatione quod in labem³⁶ et in³⁷ obprobrium non male deueni. Deum oro, ut non *illis* in peccatum reputetur.³⁸

27. *Occasionem*³⁹ post annos⁴⁰ triginta inuenerunt,⁴¹ et⁴² aduersus uerbum quod confessus fueram antequam⁴³ essem diaconus.—Propter

¹ ins. iald A*. ² expergefactus *rell.* ³ ann. plur. *rell.* ⁴ eorum *rell.* ⁵ om. utrum *Boll.* ⁶ peritissime A (*with z in marg.*); per territus, R; *ins.* audiebam quosdam ex spiritu psallentes intra me, et nesciebam qui essent *Boll.* ⁷ postremum *rell.* ⁸ So W. Stokes; efficiatus A; affatus *rell.* ⁹ Qui ded. pro te an. su. *Boll.*; Qui pro te an. su. posuit. CF₃F₄R, om. posuit F₃R; ¹⁰ om. ipse-te *rell.* ¹¹ expergefactus *rell.* ¹² Et sic euigilaui *Boll.* ¹³ audiui *Boll.* ¹⁴ erat *Boll.* ¹⁵ om. quasi C. ¹⁶ om. super me A. ¹⁷ etbi A. ¹⁸ admirabar *rell.* ¹⁹ oret in me CF₃F₄R; oraret in me *Boll.* ²⁰ For sic- sum, dixit se esse Spiritum *Boll.* ²¹ efficiatus A; effectus F₃; effectus R. ²² episcopus (eps) ACF₃R; sps F₄ *corr.* ²³ apostoli dicentis *Boll.* ²⁴ infirmitatem nostre orat. *rell.* (*Boll.* inf. orat. nostr.). ²⁵ So A *Boll.* ²⁶ quid *rell.* ²⁷ om. sic. op. *Boll.* ²⁸ inerrabilibus A. ²⁹ exprimere non possum *Boll.*; exprimi non potest CF₃F₄R. ³⁰ Deus C. ³¹ ins. est *Boll.* F₃. ³² ins. et ipse *Boll.* ¶ A breaks off. ³³ ob *Boll.* ³⁴ nonnumquam *Boll.* ³⁵ et mihi benigne ualde *Boll.* ³⁶ labe CF₃R (*an erasure follows in F₃*). ³⁷ om. in *Boll.* ³⁸ deputetur R. ³⁹ So N. J. D. White; occasionum CF₃F₄R; rep. occasio. Nam *Boll.* ⁴⁰ ins. uero R. ⁴¹ ins. me mss. ⁴² om. et *Boll.* ⁴³ antequod CF₄*.

23. Ps. 108, 17. 24. 2 Cor. 12, 2; 1 Joh. 3, 16. 25. Eph. 3, 16; Dan. 8, 27; Rom. 8, 26; 1 Joh. 2, 1; Rom. 8, 34. 26. Ps. 117, 13; Lev. 25, 23; Ps. 105, 8; 2 Tim. 4, 16. 27. Dan. 6, 5.

anxietatem mesto animo insinuavi amicissimo meo ¶ quae in pueritia mea una die gesseram, immo in una hora, quia necdum praeualebam. *Nescio, Deus scit*, si habebam¹ tunc annos² quindecim, et Deum uiuum³ non credebam, neque ex⁴ infantia mea; sed in morte et in⁵ incredulitate mansi donec ualde castigatus sum, et in ueritate humiliatus sum a fame et nuditate et cotidie.

28. Contra, Hiberione⁶ non sponte pergebam *donec* prope *deficiebam*. Sed haec⁷ potius bene mihi⁸ fuit, quia ex hoc emendatus sum a Domino; et aptauit me ut hodie essem quod aliquando longe a me 10 erat, ut ego curas haberem aut satagerem pro salute aliorum, quando autem⁹ tunc etiam de me ipso non cogitabam.

29. Igitur in illo die quo *reprobatus* sum a memoratis supradictis, ad noctem illam *ſuidi in uiſſu noctis*.¹⁰ Scriptum erat¹¹ contra faciem meam sine honore. Et inter haec audiui *reſponſum diuinum*¹² dicentem¹³ mihi, Male uidimus¹⁴ faciem designati¹⁵ nudato nomine. Nec sic praedixit, Male uidisti, sed Male uidimus; quasi ibi¹⁶ se iunxisset.¹⁷ Sicut dixit, *Qui uos tangit quasi qui*¹⁸ *tangit pupillam oculi mei*.

30. Idcirco gratias ago ei *qui me* in omnibus *confortauit* ut non me inpediret¹⁹ a profectione²⁰ quam²¹ statueram et de mea quoque opera²² 20 quod a Christo Domino²³ meo dediceram,²⁴ sed magis²⁵ ex eo *ſenſi in me*²⁶ *uirtutem* non paruam, et *fides* mea *probata* est coram Deo et hominibus.

31. Unde autem²⁷ *audenter dico* non me reprehendit conscientia mea hic et in futurum.²⁸ *Teſtem Deum* habeo²⁹ *quia non sum mentitus* 25 in sermonibus quos ego³⁰ retuli uobis.³¹ ¶

32. Sed magis doleo pro amicissimo meo cur hoc meruimus audire tale responsum.³² Cui ego credidi etiam animam!³³ Et comperi³⁴ ab aliquantis fratribus³⁵ ante *deſenſionem* illam, quod ego non interfui,

¶ R breaks off. 1 habeam CF₄. 2 annis CF₃F₄*. 3 unum Boll. 4 For neque ex, ab Boll. 5 et in crudelitate F₃. 6 Hiberionem F₄ Hyberionem Boll. 7 hoc Boll. F₄ corr. 8 mihi bene Boll. 9 autem underdotted in F₄; Boll. om. autem tunc. § A resumes. 10 in uisu noct. [uidi] Boll. 11 om. erat Boll. 12 om. diuinum A. 13 dicens Boll. F₄ corr. 14 audiuius A. 15 dei signati CF₃F₄. 16 sibi A. 17 iunxit *rell.* (seiunxit C; ibise F₃; F₄ has erased space between ibi and se). 18 om. quasi qui Boll.; om. qui CF₃F₄. 19 inpediret CF₃F₄*. 20 ins. meâ. Boll. 21 qua A. 22 meo q. opere Boll. F₄ corr. 23 om. Domino *rell.* 24 didiceram *rell.*; dederam A. 25 ins. et F₃. 26 om. in me A. 27 om. autem Boll. 28 om. hic-futurum Boll. 29 teste deo abeo A. 30 om. ego Boll. 31 om. uobis *rell.* ¶ A breaks off. 32 cur tale mer. habere resp. Boll. 33 ins. meam Boll. 34 comperit Boll. 35 ins. meis Boll.

27. 2 Cor. 12, 2. 28. Ps. 17, 38. 29. Ps. 117, 22; Dan. 7, 13; Rom. 11, 4; Zech. 2, 8. 30. Phil. 4, 13; Marc. 5, 29; 1 Pet. 1, 7. 31. Act. 2, 29; 2 Cor. 1, 23; Gal. 1, 20. 32. 2 Tim. 4, 16.

nec in Brittanniis eram, nec a me orietur, ut et ille in mea absentia pro me pulsaret.¹ Etiam mihi ipse ore suo dixerat, Ecce dandus² es tu ad gradum episcopatus. Quod³ non eram dignus. Sed unde uenit illi postmodum, ut coram cunctis, bonis et malis, et⁴ me publice *dehonestaret*, quod ante sponte et laetus indulserat, et⁵ Dominus qui maior 5
omnibus est?

33. Satis dico; Sed tamen non⁶ debeo abscondere *donum Dei* quod largitus est nobis⁷ in *terra captiuitatis meae*, quia tunc fortiter inquisiui eum,⁸ et ibi inueni illum,⁹ et seruauit me ab omnibus iniquitatibus. Sic credo,¹⁰ *propter inhabitantem Spiritum eius*, qui *operatus est* usque 10
in hanc¹¹ diem in me. *Audenter* rursus. Sed scit Deus si mihi homo hoc effatus fuisset,¹² forsitan tacuissem propter *caritatem Christi*.

34. Unde ergo¹³ indefessam gratiam ago Deo meo qui me fidelem seruauit *in die temptationis* meae, ita ut hodie confidenter offeram illi sacrificium, ut¹⁴ *hostiam uiuentem*, animam meam Christo¹⁵ Domino meo, 15
qui me *seruauit ab omnibus angustis meis*, ut et¹⁶ dicam: *Quis ego sum, Domine*, uel quae est *uocatio*¹⁷ mea, qui mihi tantam diuinitatem aperuisti?¹⁸ ita ut hodie in¹⁹ gentibus constanter *exaltarem*²⁰ et *magnificarem nomen* tuum ubicumque²¹ loco²² fuero; nec non²³ in secundis, sed etiam in pressuris; ut quicquid mihi euenerit, siue bonum siue 20
malum, aequaliter debeo²⁴ suscipere, et Deo gratias semper agere, qui mihi ostendit ut indubitabilem eum sine fine crederem,²⁵ et²⁶ qui me audierit, ut et ego inscius²⁷ in *nouissimis diebus* hoc opus tam pium et tam mirificum adire adgrederer,²⁸ ita ut imitarem²⁹ quispiam³⁰ illos quos ante³¹ Dominus iam olim praedixerat praenuntiaturus³² euangelium 25
suum in *testimonium omnibus gentibus* ante *finem mundi*. Quod ita ergo ut uidimus, itaque suppletum est.³³ Ecce testes sumus quia euangelium praedicatum est usque ubi nemo ultra est.

¹ pulsetur pro me; *om.* Etiam mihi *Boll.* ² promouendus *Boll.*; datus *F₃*.

³ quo *Boll.* ⁴ in *Boll.* ⁵ est *Boll.* ⁶ *om.* non *F₃*. ⁷ *om.* nobis *Boll.*

⁸ illum *Boll.* ⁹ eum *Boll.* ¹⁰ *om.* sic credo *Boll.* ¹¹ hunc *Boll.*

¹² *For* Audenter—fuisset, Nouit autem Dominus si ab homine ista audissem *Boll.*

¹³ ego *Boll.* ¹⁴ et uelut *Boll.* ¹⁵ consecro *Boll.* ¹⁶ ei *Boll.* ¹⁷ inuocatio *Boll.*

¹⁸ *So N. J. D. White*; cooperuisti *CF₃F₄*; denudasti *Boll.* ¹⁹ *om.* in *F₃*;

om. in gent. const. *Boll.* ²⁰ exultarem *CF₃F₄*. ²¹ in quocumque *Boll.* ²² *om.*

loco *F₄ corr.* ²³ nec tantum *Boll.* ²⁴ debeam *Boll.* ²⁵ cred. sine fine *Boll.*

²⁶ ut *F₃*. ²⁷ *om.* inscius *Boll.*; *ins.* sim *CF₄*. ²⁸ audirem adgrederer *F₃*;

auderem aggredi *Boll.* ²⁹ imitarer *Boll.* *F₄ corr.* ³⁰ quospiam *F₄ corr.*; *om.* *Boll.*

³¹ *om.* ante *Boll.* ³² preuuntiaturus *C*; preuuntiaturum *F₃*; preuuntiatus *F₄*.

³³ Quod sicut uid. ita suppl. est *Boll.*; *om.* ut *F₃*.

32. Prov. 25, 8; Joh. 10, 29. 33. Joh. 4, 10; 2 Par. 6, 37; Rom. 8, 11; 1 Cor. 12, 11; Act. 2, 29; 2 Cor. 5, 14. 34. Ps. 94, 9; Rom. 12, 1; Ps. 33, 7; 2 Reg. 7, 18; 1 Cor. 1, 26; Ps. 33, 4; Act. 2, 17; Matt. 24, 14.

35. § Longum est autem totum per singula enarrare¹ laborem meum uel per partes. Breuiter dicam qualiter piissimus² Deus de seruitute sepe [me]³ liberauit et⁴ de periculis xii qua⁵ periclitata est anima mea, praeter insidias multas, et quae uerbis expremere non ualeo; nec⁶ iniuriam legentibus faciam; sed Deum⁷ auctorem habeo⁸ qui nouit omnia etiam antequam fiant, ¶ ut me paupericulum pupillum⁹ idiotam tamen¹⁰ responsum diuinum creberrime admonuit.¹¹

36. Unde mihi haec sapientia, quae in me non erat, qui nec numerum dierum noueram, neque Deum sapiebam? Unde mihi postmodum donum tam magnum tam salubre Deum¹² agnoscere uel¹³ diligere, sed¹⁴ ut patriam et parentes amitterem?

37. Et munera multa mihi offerebantur cum fletu et lacrimis. Et offendi illos, necnon¹⁵ contra uotum, aliquantos¹⁶ de senioribus meis; sed, gubernante Deo, nullo modo consensi neque adqueui illis; non mea gratia, sed Deus qui¹⁷ uincit¹⁸ in me, et resistit¹⁹ illis omnibus ut ego ueneram²⁰ ad Hibernas gentes euangelium praedicare, et ab incredulis contumelias²¹ perferre, ut aurem²² obprobrium peregrinationis meae et persecutiones multas usque ad uincula, et ut darem²³ ingenuitatem meam pro utilitate²⁴ aliorum; et si dignus fuero promptus sum, ut etiam animam meam incunctanter et libentissime pro nomine eius, et ibi²⁵ opto inpendere eam usque ad mortem si Dominus mihi²⁶ indulgeret.

38. § Quia ualde debitor sum Deo qui mihi tantam gratiam donauit ut populi multi per me in Deum²⁷ renascerentur²⁸ et postmodum con-summarentur,²⁹ et ut clerici ubique illis³⁰ ordinarentur, ad plebem nuper uenientem ad credulitatem quam sumsit Dominus ab extremis terrae, sicut³¹ olim promisserat per profetas suos: Ad te gentes uenient ab extremis terrae, et dicent, Sicut falsa comparauerunt patres nostri idola

§ A resumes. ¹ narrare Boll. ² piissimus A. ³ So Denis [me]. ⁴ For et-xii, ex duodecim per. *rell.* ⁵ quibus *rell.* ⁶ ne Boll.; *ins.* et CF₃F₄. ⁷ dum CF₃F₄; Dominum Boll. ⁸ om. habeo A. ¶ A breaks off. ⁹ et pusillum Boll. ¹⁰ So N. J. D. White; ideo tamen CF₃F₄; om. Boll. ¹¹ admoneret F₃ Boll. ¹² tam magn. et sal. donum Dei Boll. ¹³ et Boll. ¹⁴ om. sed Boll. ¹⁵ For illos necnon, illic Boll. ¹⁶ aliquantis CF₃F₄. ¹⁷ non ego, sed Dei gratia quae Boll. ¹⁸ uicit Boll. F₄ corr. ¹⁹ So F₃; restitit CF₄; restiti Boll. ²⁰ For ut-uen., quatenus uenirem Boll. ²¹ iniurias Boll. ²² audirem Boll.; haurirem F₄ corr. ²³ *ins.* me et Boll.; *ins.* me F₃. ²⁴ utilitatem C. ²⁵ illi Boll. ²⁶ om. mihi Boll. ²⁷ A resumes. ²⁸ Domino Boll. ²⁹ renascantur *rell.* ³⁰ om. et-cons. A ³¹ illi F₄ corr. ³¹ om. sicut-terrae (1) Boll.

35. Rom. 8, 26; Act. 4, 13; Rom. 11, 4. 36. Ps. 38, 5; Matt. 16, 23. 37. Sir. 29, 30; 2 Tim. 2, 9; Rom. 1, 14; Joh. 13, 37; 2 Cor. 12, 15; Phil. 2, 30. 38. Jer. 16, 19.

*et non est in eis utilitas.*¹ Et iterum : *Posui te lumen in² gentibus ut³ sis in salutem⁴ usque ad extremum⁵ terrae.*

39. Et ibi uolo *expectare*⁶ *promissum* ipsius qui utique numquam fallit, sicut in aeuangelio pollicetur :⁷ *Uenient ab oriente et occidente et ab austro et ab aquilone, et⁸ recumbent cum Abraam et Issac et Iacob ;* 5 sicut credimus⁹ ab omni mundo uenturi sunt credentes.¹⁰

40. Idcirco itaque¹¹ oportet¹² bene et diligenter piscare,¹³ sicut Dominus praemonet et docet¹⁴ dicens : *Uenite post me et¹⁵ faciam uos fieri¹⁶ piscatores hominum.* Et iterum dicit per prophetas :¹⁷ *Ecce¹⁸ mitto piscatores et uenatores multos, dicit Deus,*¹⁹ et caetera. 10

Unde autem²⁰ ualde oportebat²¹ retia nostra tendere ita ut *multitudo copiosa* et turba Deo caperetur, et²² ubique essent clerici qui baptizarent et exhortarent²³ populum indigentem et dissiderantem,²⁴ sicut Dominus²⁵ in aeuangelio ammonet²⁶ et docet²⁷ dicens : *Euntes ergo nunc²⁸ docete omnes gentes baptizantes eas²⁹ in nomine Patris et Filii¹⁵ et Spiritus Sancti ;³⁰ docentes eos obseruare³¹ omnia quaecunque mandauit³² uobis ; et ecce ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi.* Et iterum dicit :³³ *Euntes ergo³⁴ in mundum uniuersum praedicare aeuangelium omni creaturae ; qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit saluus erit, qui uero non crediderit condempnabitur.*³⁵ Et iterum :³⁶ 20 *Praedicabitur hoc euangelium regni in uniuerso mundo in testimonium omnibus gentibus ; et tunc ueniet finis.*

Et item Dominus per prophetam³⁷ praenuntians inquit : *Et erit in nouissimis diebus, dicit Dominus, effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii Suestri et filiae uestrae, et filii³⁸ uestri*

¹ Ad-utilitas : om. te CF₃F₄ ; om. sicut Boll. ; ins. et bef. patres F₃ ; ins. sibi bef. idola Boll. ; utilitas in eis Boll. CF₃F₄ ; A, sicut falso comp. patr. nost. id. et non est in eis util. ad te gent. neniunt et dicent. ² in lucem Boll. ³ et F₃. ⁴ For in sal., salus mea Boll. ⁵ ultimum Boll. ⁶ aspectare F₃. ⁷ pollicetur CF₃F₄. ⁸ om. et ab aust. et ab aq. et rell. (Boll. has et rec.). ⁹ credimur Boll. ¹⁰ om. sunt cred. Boll. ¹¹ om. itaque rell. ¹² ins. quidem rell. ¹³ piscari Boll. F₄ corr. ¹⁴ om. et docet rell. ¹⁵ om. et Boll. ¹⁶ om. fieri CF₃F₄. ¹⁷ om. dicit—proph. A. ¹⁸ ins. ego rell. ¹⁹ Dominus rell. ²⁰ oportuit ualde Boll. ²¹ oportebatur CF₃F₄*. ²² ut rell. ²³ exhortarentur F₄ Boll. (exhort.). ²⁴ indigentem et desiderantem rell. ²⁵ ins. inquit Boll. CF₃ ; space erased in F₄. ²⁶ admonens Boll. ²⁷ om. docens Boll. ²⁸ om. nunc rell. ²⁹ eos rell. ³⁰ For docentes—saeculi, reliqua usque dicit saeculi A. ³¹ seruare Boll. ³² dixero Boll. ³³ om. dicit A. ³⁴ om. ergo Boll. ³⁵ om. qui—condemp. Boll. ; For Et iterum—Dei uiui, reliqua sunt exempla A. ³⁶ om. iterum Boll. ³⁷ For item—proph., iterum Domini propheta Boll. ³⁸ § B resumes. ³⁹ iuuenes B ; om. fil. uestr. F₃.

38. Act. 13, 47. **39.** Act. 1, 4 ; Matt. 8, 11. **40.** Matt. 4, 19 ; Jer. 16, 16 ; Luc. 5, 6 ; Matt. 28, 19 ; Marc. 16, 15 ; Matt. 24, 14 ; Act. 2, 17.

uisiones uidebunt et seniores uestri somnia somniabunt; et quidem super seruos meos et super ancillas meas in diebus illis effundam de Spiritu meo et prophetabunt. Et in¹ Osee dicit: Uocabo non plebem meam plebem meam,² et non misericordiam consecutam misericordiam consecutam.³ Et erit in⁵ loco ubi dictum est: Non plebs mea uos, ibi uocabuntur filii Dei uiui.

41. Unde autem Hiberione qui numquam notitiam Dei⁴ habuerunt,⁵ nissi idula et⁶ imunda usque nunc⁷ semper coluerunt, quomodo⁸ nuper facta⁹ est *plebs* Domini et *filii Dei* nuncupantur? Filii Scottorum¹⁰ et filiae regulorum monachi et¹¹ uirgines Christi esse¹² uidentur. ¶

10 42. Et etiam una benedicta¹³ Scotta genitiua,¹⁴ nobilis, pulcherrima, adulta¹⁵ erat, quam ego baptizau; et post paucos dies una causa uenit ad nos; insinuauit¹⁶ nobis responsum accepisse a nutu¹⁷ Dei, et monuit etiam¹⁸ ut esset¹⁹ uirgo Christi²⁰ et²¹ ipsa²¹ Deo proximaret. Deo gratias, sexta ab hac die optime et audissime arripuit illud quod¹⁵ etiam omnes uirgines Dei ita hoc²² faciunt; non sponte²³ patrum earum, sed et²⁴ persecutionem²⁵ patiuntur²⁶ et inproperia falsa a parentibus suis, et nihilominus plus augetur numerus, et de genere nostro qui ibi nati sunt nescimus numerum eorum, praeter uiduas et continentes.

20 Sed et illae²⁷ maxime laborant quae seruitio detinentur. Usque ad terrores et minas assidue perferunt;²⁸ sed Dominus gratiam dedit multis ex ancillis meis²⁹ nam etsi uetantur³⁰ tamen fortiter imitantur.

43. Unde autem etsi uoluero³¹ amittere illas, et ut pergens in Britannias — et libentissime paratus eram — quasi ad patriam et²⁵ parentes, non id solum sed etiam usque ad³² Gallias, uisitare fratres et ut uiderem faciem sanctorum Domini mei; scit Deus quod ego ualde optabam. Sed *alligatus Spiritu* qui *mihi protestatur* si hoc fecero, ut futurum reum me esse³³ designat, et timeo perdere laborem quem inchoau; et non ego sed Christus Dominus qui me³⁴ imperauit ut

¹ om. in BF₃. ² om. pleb. meam C. ³ om. miser. cons. C. ⁴ om. Dei A.
⁵ habuerant *rell.* ⁶ om. et B. ⁷ om. nunc A. ⁸ om. modo C. ⁹ effecta B;
fecta C; perfecta F₃F₄ (pfecta). ¹⁰ sanctorum A. ¹¹ om. et F₃.
¹² ipse CF₃F₄. ¶ A *breaks off.* ¹³ Scotta ben. B. ¹⁴ om. genitiua B.
¹⁵ adultera F₃. ¹⁶ ins. namque B. ¹⁷ nuntio BF₃. ¹⁸ eam B.
¹⁹ permaneret B. ²⁰ om. Christi F₃ (uirgo uirgo). ²¹ sic B. ²² For ita hoc,
similiter B. ²³ uoluntate B. ²⁴ For sed et, immo B; om. et C. ²⁵ per-
secutiones B. ²⁶ So Denis; patuntur B; patiantur CF₃F₄. ²⁷ So Ware; illas
BCF₃, illa F₄ corr. ²⁸ persuaserunt CF₄; persequerunt F₃. ²⁹ suis B.
³⁰ So Denis; nam et siue tantum BF₃; om. et CF₄. ³¹ long erased space in F₄.
³² om. ad CF₃F₄. ³³ reum fut. esse B. ³⁴ mihi B.

uenirem essemque cum illis residuum aetatis meae, si Dominus uoluerit, et custodierit me ab omni uia mala, ut non *peccem coram illo*.

44. Spero autem hoc debueram; sed memetipsū² non credo *quamdiu fuero in hoc corpore mortis*, quia fortis est qui cotidie nititur subuertere me a fide et proposita³ castitate religionis non fictae usque 5 in finem uitae meae Christo Domino⁴ meo. Sed *caro inimica* semper trahit ad mortem, id est, ad inlecebras in⁵ infelicitate perficiendas. Et *scio ex parte* qua re⁶ uitam perfectam ego non egi⁷ sicut et caeteri credentes; sed confiteor Domino meo et non erubesco in conspectu⁸ ipsius,⁹ *quia non mentior*, ex quo cognoui eum *a iuuentute mea* creuit 10 in me amor Dei et timor ipsius; et usque nunc fauente Domino *fidem seruauit*.

45. Rideat autem et insultet qui uoluerit, ego non silebo neque abscondo signa et mirabilia quae¹⁰ mihi a Domino ministrata sunt ante multos annos quam fuerunt,¹¹ quasi qui nouit omnia etiam *ante* 15 *tempora saecularia*.

46. Unde autem¹² debuero sine cessatione Deo gratias agere, qui sepe indulsit insipientiae meae et¹³ neglegentiae meae, et de loco non in uno quoque ut non mihi uehementer irasceretur qui *adiutor* datus sum, et non cito adqueui, secundum quod¹⁴ mihi ostensum fuerat, et 20 sicut Spiritus *suggererat*.¹⁵ Et *misertus est mihi*¹⁶ Dominus *in milia milium*, quia uidit in me quod paratus eram, sed quod mihi pro his nesciebam de statu meo quid facerem, quia multi hanc legationem prohibebant. Etiam inter seipsos post tergum meum narrabant et dicebant, Iste quare se mittit in periculum inter hostes qui Deum 25 non nouerunt? Non ut causa malitiae, sed non sapiebat illis, sicut et ego ipse testor, intelligi,¹⁷ propter rusticitatem meam. Et non cito agnoui gratiam, quae tunc erat in me. Nunc mihi sapit¹⁸ quod ante debueram.

47. Nunc ergo simpliciter insinuaui fratribus et conseruis meis, 30 qui mihi crediderunt, propter quod *praedixi et praedico* ad roborandam et confirmandam fidem uestram. Utinam ut et uos imitemini maiora, et

¹ esse me cum CF₄* (m (1) *erased*); esse meum F₃. ² memetipso F₃.

³ preposita BF₃. ⁴ Deo F₄. ⁵ For in infel., inlicitate CF₃; inlicite F₄ *corr*.

⁶ *ins.* ego, *om.* ego *infra* B. ⁷ didici B. ⁸ erubesco inspectu F₃. ⁹ eius B.

¹⁰ quem F₃. ¹¹ fierent B; fuerant F₄. ¹² ego quidem debueram B.

¹³ *cm.* et CF₃F₄. ¹⁴ quid F₃. ¹⁵ Et spiritus nichilominus sug., et B.

¹⁶ mei B. ¹⁷ testator intellexi F₃. ¹⁸ capit CF₃F₄.

43. Jac. 4, 15; Luc. 15, 18. 44. 2 Pet. 1, 13; Rom. 7, 24; Rom. 8, 7; 1 Cor. 13, 9; Gal. 1, 20; Ps. 87, 16; 2 Tim. 4, 7. 45. 2 Tim. 1, 9. 46. 1 Cor. 3, 9; Joh. 14, 26; Exod. 20, 6. 47. 2 Cor. 13, 2.

potiora faciatis! Hoc¹ erit gloria mea, quia, *Filius sapiens gloria patris est.*

48. Uos scitis et Deus qualiter apud uos *conuersatus sum*² a *iuuentute mea* et³ fide ueritatis et⁴ sinceritate cordis. Etiam ad gentes⁵ illas inter quas habito, ego fidem illis praestauit⁶ et praestabo. Deus scit, neminem illorum *circumueni*; nec cogito, propter Deum et ecclesiam ipsius, ne *excitem* illis et nobis omnibus *persecutionem*, et ne per me blasphemaretur⁶ nomen Domini; quia scriptum est: *Uae homini per quem nomen Domini blasphematur.*

10 49. *Nam etsi imperitus sum in omnibus*⁷ tamen conatus sum quipiam seruare me etiam et⁸ fratribus Christianis et uirginibus Christi et mulieribus religiosis, quae mihi ultronea munuscula donabant, et super altare iactabant ex ornamentis suis, et iterum reddebam⁹ illis. Et aduersus¹⁰ me scandalizabantur cur hoc¹¹ faciebam. Sed ego prop-
15 ter spem perennitatis, ut me in omnibus caute propterea conseruarem, ita ut me in aliquo titulo infideles¹² *caperent* uel ministerium seruitutis meae, nec etiam in minimo¹³ incredulis locum darem infamare siue detractare.

50. Forte autem quando baptizaui tot milia hominum sperauerim
20 ab aliquo illorum uel dimidio¹⁴ scriptulae? *Dicite mihi et reddam uobis.* Aut quando ordinauit ubique Dominus clericos per modicitatem meam et ministerium gratis distribui illis, si poposci ab aliquo illorum uel pretium uel *calciamenti* mei, *dicite aduersus me*¹⁵ *et reddam uobis* magis.

25 51. Ego *inpendi pro*¹⁶ uobis ut me *caperent*,¹⁷ et inter uos et ubique pergebam causa uestra in multis periculis etiam usque ad externas partes ubi nemo ultra erat, et ubi numquam aliquis peruenerat qui baptizaret, aut clericos ordinaret aut populum consummaret,¹⁸ donante Domino, diligenter et *libentissime* pro salute uestra omnia gessi.¹⁹

30 52. Interim praemia dabam regibus²⁰ praeter²¹ quod dabam mercedem²² filiis ipsorum, qui mecum ambulant; et nihilominus²³ compre-

¹ Haec B. ² conu. sum inter uos B; F₃ for apud has inter writ over. ³ in B.

⁴ ins. in F₃F₄. ⁵ prestiti B. ⁶ blasphemetur B. ⁷ nominibus BCF₃.

⁸ om. et B. ⁹ reddebant F₃. ¹⁰ aduersum F₄. ¹¹ ego CF₄. ¹² infideli CF₃F₄.

¹³ minimis B. ¹⁴ dimidium F₄ corr. ¹⁵ For adu. me, michi B.

¹⁶ om. pro B. ¹⁷ So Denis; caperet mss. ¹⁸ in fide confirmaret B.

¹⁹ generaui C; generari F₃; generaur F₄. ²⁰ reg. dab. B. ²¹ propter CF₃F₄.

²² merc. dab. B. ²³ nihil CF₃F₄.

47. Prov. 10, 1. 48. Act. 23, 1; Ps. 87, 16; 2 Cor. 7, 2; Act. 13, 50; Rom. 2, 24; Matt. 18, 7. 49. 2 Cor. 11, 6; 7, 2. 50. 1 Reg. 12, 3. 51. 2 Cor. 12, 15.

henderunt me¹ cum comitibus meis. Et illa die audivissime cupiebant² interficere me; sed tempus nondum uenerat. Et omnia quaecumque nobiscum inuenerunt rapuerunt,³ et me ipsum⁴ ferro uinxerunt. Et quarto decimo die absoluit me Dominus de⁵ potestate eorum; et quicquid nostrum fuit redditum est nobis propter Deum et *necessarios* ⁵ *amicos* quos ante praeuidimus.

53. Uos autem experti estis quantum ego erogavi illis qui indicabant⁶ per omnes regiones quos ego frequentius uisitabam; censeo enim non minimum quam⁷ pretium quindecim hominum distribui illis, ita ut me *fruemini*; et ego *uobis* semper *fruar* in Deum. Non me poenitet, ¹⁰ nec satis est mihi; adhuc *inpendo et superinpendam*. Potens est⁸ Dominus ut det mihi postmodum ut meipsum *inpendar*⁹ *pro animabus uestris*.

54. § Ecce *testem Deum inuoco in animam meam quia non mentior*. Neque ut sit *occassio*¹⁰ *adulationis uel auaritiae* scripserim¹¹ uobis,¹² ¹⁵ neque ut honorem spero ab aliquo uestro.¹³ Sufficit enim¹⁴ honor qui nondum¹⁵ uidetur sed corde creditur. *Fidelis* autem *qui promisit*; *numquam mentitur*.

55. Sed uideo iam in *praesenti saeculo* me *supra modum exaltatum*¹⁶ a Domino. Et non eram dignus neque talis ut hoc mihi¹⁷ praestaret, ²⁰ dum scio certissime quod mihi¹⁸ melius conuenit paupertas et calamitas quam diuitiae et diliciae.¹⁹ Sed et Christus Dominus *pauper* fuit pro nobis.²⁰ Ego uero²¹ miser et infelix, etsi opes uolueram iam non habeo, *neque meipsum iudico*, quia quotidie spero²² aut intericionem aut circumueniri aut redigi in seruitutem, siue *occassio*²³ ²⁵ cuiuslibet. ¶ *Sed nihil horum uereor* propter promissa caelorum; quia iactaui meipsum in manus Dei omnipotentis, quia²⁴ ubique dominatur, sicut propheta dicit²⁵: *Iacta cogitatum tuum in Deum et ipse te enutriet*.

56. Ecce nunc *commendo*²⁶ *animam meam fidelissimo Deo meo, pro* ³⁰

¹ ins. tunc B. ² cupiebam CF₃F₄. ³ ins. illud CF₃; illa F₄ corr.
⁴ om. ipsum C; ipso F₃. ⁵ a B. ⁶ iudicabant B. ⁷ quam *erased* in F₄.
⁸ enim B. ⁹ impendat CF₃; impendam F₄ corr. § A resumes. ¹⁰ causa B.
¹¹ om. adul.—scrips. A. ¹² nobis F₃. ¹³ For spero—uestro, sperarem uestrum
rell. ¹⁴ ins. mihi BF₃F₄. ¹⁵ om. dum—numquam A. ¹⁶ exaltatus sum A;
exultatum CF₃F₄. ¹⁷ michi hoc B. ¹⁸ om. cert.—mihi A. ¹⁹ dil. et diu. B;
dilitias et diuitias CF₃F₄*; deliciae et diu. F₄ corr. ²⁰ pro nob. fuit paup. B.
²¹ om. uero CF₃F₄. ²² sperno CF₄. ²³ occasionem F₄ corr. ¶ A breaks off.
²⁴ qui F₄ corr. ²⁵ ait B. ²⁶ com. nunc F₄.

52. Act. 10, 24. 53. Rom. 15, 24; 2 Cor. 12, 15. 54. 2 Cor. 1, 23; Gal. 1, 20; 1 Thess. 2, 5; Heb. 10, 23; Tit. 1, 2. 55. Gal. 1, 4; 2 Cor. 1, 8; 8, 9; 1 Cor. 4, 3; Act. 20, 24; Ps. 54, 23. 56. 1 Pet. 4, 19.

*quo legationem*¹ *fungor* in ignobilitate mea, sed quia *personam non accipit* et *elegit* me ad hoc officium ut² unus essem de *suis minimis* minister.

57. Unde autem *retribuam illi pro omnibus quae retribuit*³ *mihi*?
 5 Sed quid dicam uel quid promittam Domino meo? quia nihil uideo⁴
 nisi ipse mihi dederit, sed *scrutatur*⁵ *corda et renes*, quia satis et nimis
 cupio et paratus eram ut donaret mihi *bibere calicem* eius sicut indulsit
 et⁶ caeteris amantibus se.

58. Quapropter⁷ non contingat⁸ mihi a Deo⁹ meo ut numquam
 10 amittam *plebem* suam¹⁰ *quam adquisiuit* in ultimis terrae. Oro¹¹ Deum
 ut det mihi perseuerantiam, et dignetur ut reddam illi [me]¹² testem
 fidelem usque ad transitum meum propter Deum meum.

59. Et si aliquid boni umquam imitatus sum¹³ propter Deum meum
 quem diligo, peto¹⁴ ¶ illi¹⁵ det mihi ut¹⁶ cum illis proselitis et captiuis
 15 pro nomine suo effundam sanguinem meum etsi ipsam¹⁷ etiam caream
 sepulturam, aut¹⁸ miserissime¹⁹ cadauer per singula membra²⁰ diuida-
 tur²¹ canibus aut bestiis asperis, aut *uolucres caeli comederent* illud.²²
 Certissime²³ reor si mihi hoc incurrisset²⁴ lucratus sum animam cum²⁵
 corpore meo, quia sine²⁶ ulla dubitatione in die illa resurgemus in
 20 claritate solis, hoc est, in gloria Christi Iesu redemptoris nostri,²⁷
 quasi *filiis Dei uiui*²⁸ et *coheredes Christi*, et *conformes futurae*²⁹ *imaginis*
ipsius; *quoniam ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso sunt omnia: ipsi gloria*
in saecula saeculorum, Amen. In illo enim regnaturi sumus.³⁰

60. Nam sol iste quem uidemus, Deo³¹ iubente, propter nos cotidie
 25 oritur, sed numquam regnabit³² neque *permanebit* splendor eius; sed et
 omnes qui adorant eum in poenam miseri male deuenient. Nos autem
 qui³³ credimus et adoramus solem uerum³⁴ Christum, qui numquam

¹ legatione F₄ corr. ² et F₃. ³ retribuatur CF₃F₄. ⁴ ualeo B. ⁵ So Denis;
 scrutabor CF₃F₄; scrutator B. ⁶ om. et CF₃F₄. ⁷ quia propter CF₃F₄*;
 i erased in F₄. ⁸ So Ware; contingunt mss. ⁹ Domino B. ¹⁰ meam C.
¹¹ ins. ergo B. ¹² So Denis [me]. ¹³ inuitatus sum unq. B. ¹⁴ ins.
 igitur B. ¶ B leaves off. ¹⁵ illum F₄ corr.; ins. ut Boll. ¹⁶ quatenus Boll.
¹⁷ ipsum C; ipse-sepultura F₄ corr.; ipsa-sepultura Boll. ¹⁸ et Boll.
¹⁹ miserrime Boll. F₄ corr. ²⁰ om. membra Boll. ²¹ ins. auius Boll.
²² For asperis-illud, ac feris proiciatur ut comedant illud Boll.; comederunt F₃;
 comederint F₄ corr. ²³ ins. enim Boll. ²⁴ curae sit Boll. ²⁵ in Boll.
²⁶ nulla, . . illa die Boll. ²⁷ For Chr.-nostri, Iesu Chr. redempti omnes
 erimus Boll. ²⁸ om. uiui Boll. ²⁹ creaturae Boll. ³⁰ om. quoniam-
 sumus F₃; om. sunt-enim CF₄. ³¹ Deo F₄ written over; om. CF₃; illo Boll.
³² ins. et CF₄. ³³ om. qui F₄ corr. ³⁴ ins. Iesum Boll.

56. Eph. 6, 20; Gal. 2, 6; Joh. 15, 16; Matt. 25, 40. 57. Ps. 115, 12;
 7, 10; Matt. 20, 22. 58. Es. 43, 21. 59. 3 Reg. 16, 4; Rom. 8, 16; 9, 26;
 8, 29; 11, 36. 60. Ps. 71, 5.

interibit neque qui fecerat¹ uoluntatem ipsius,² sed manebit in aeternum, quomodo³ et Christus manebit⁴ in aeternum, qui regnat cum Deo Patre omnipotente et cum⁵ Spiritu Sancto ante saecula et nunc et per omnia saecula saeculorum, Amen.

61. Ecce iterum] iterumque⁶ breuiter exponam uerba confessionis⁵ meae. *Testificor* in ueritate et in exultatione cordis⁷ coram Deo et sanctis angelis eius, quia⁸ numquam habui aliquam⁹ occasionem praeter euangelium et promissa illius ut umquam redirem ad¹⁰ gentem illam, unde¹¹ prius uix¹² euaseram.

62. § Sed precor credentibus et¹³ timentibus Deum, quicumque¹⁰ dignatus fuerit inspicere uel recipere hanc scripturam quam Patricius peccator¹⁴ indoctus scilicet Hiberione conscripsit,¹⁵ ut nemo umquam dicat quod mea ignorantia,¹⁶ si aliquid pussillum egi¹⁷ uel demonstrauerim secundum Dei placitum,¹⁸ sed arbitramini et¹⁹ uerissime credatur²⁰ quod donum²¹ Dei²² fuisset. Et²³ haec est confessio mea antequam¹⁵ moriar.²⁴

[EPISTOLA.

¹ fecerit *Boll.* F₄ corr. ² suam *Boll.* ³ om. quomodo—aeternum C ;
om. et *Boll.* ⁴ permanebit F₄ ; manet *Boll.* ⁵ om. cum *Boll.* ⁶ atque
iterum *Boll.* ⁷ om. cordis *Boll.* ⁸ qui CF₃F₄. ⁹ ullam *Boll.*
¹⁰ redderem a CF₃F₄. ¹¹ ins. autem CF₃F₄. ¹² om. uix *Boll.* § A resumes.
¹³ ins. petentibus ac *Boll.* ¹⁴ pecc. Pat. *Boll.* ¹⁵ conscripsi *Boll.*
¹⁶ meae ignorantiae [fuerit] *Boll.* ¹⁷ ego CF₃F₄. ¹⁸ om. Dei
plac. A with z in marg. (plac. Dei *Boll.*). ¹⁹ ac *Boll.* ²⁰ credatis
Boll. ; creditur F₃. ²¹ om. donum *rell.* ²² Deus *Boll.* ²³ atque *Boll.*
²⁴ A adds : Huc usque uolumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua. Septima
decima Martii die translatus est Patricius ad caelos. CF₄ : Explicit liber i.
Incipit lib. ii. F₃ : Explicit Liber primus. Incipit secundus.

EPISTOLA.

1. PATRICIUS peccator indoctus scilicet¹:—Hiberione constitutum² episcopum³ me esse fateor.⁴ Certissime reor a Deo *accepi id quod sum*. Inter barbaras⁵ itaque⁶ gentes⁷ habito⁸ *proselitus* et profuga⁹ ob amorem Dei. Testis est ille¹⁰ si ita est. Non quod optabam tam dure et tam
5 aspere aliquid ex ore meo effundere. Sed cogor, *zelo Dei* et¹¹ *ueritatis Christi* excitatus,¹² pro dilectione proximorum atque filiorum pro quibus *tradidi* patriam et parentes et *animam* meam *usque ad mortem*. Si dignus sum, noui¹³ Deo meo docere gentes etsi contemnor a quibusdam.¹⁴

10 2. Manu mea scripsi atque condidi uerba ista danda et¹⁵ tradenda, militibus mittenda Corotici; non dico ciuibus meis neque¹⁶ ciuibus sanctorum Romanorum, sed ciuibus daemoniorum ob mala opera ipsorum. Ritu hostili in morte uiuunt, socii Scottorum atque Pictorum apostatarum, quasi sanguine uolentes saginari¹⁷ innocentium Christiano-
15 rum, quos ego innumeros¹⁸ Deo genui atque in Christo confirmaui.

3. Postera die qua crismati¹⁹ neofiti in ueste candida²⁰—flagrabat²¹ in fronte ipsorum dum²² crudeliter trucidati atque mactati gladio supradictis, —²³ misi epistolam cum sancto presbytero quem ego ex infantia docui, cum clericis, ut nobis aliquid indulgerent²⁴ de praeda uel
20 de captiuis baptizatis quos ceperunt.²⁵ Cachinnos fecerunt de illis.

4. Idcirco nescio quod²⁶ magis lugeam,²⁷ an qui interfecti, uel quos ceperunt, uel quos grauiter Zabulus inlaqueauit. Perenni poena gehennam²⁸ pariter cum ipso mancipabunt,²⁹ quia utique: *qui facit peccatum seruus est*³⁰ et *filius Zabuli*³¹ nuncupatur.

¹ *om. scilicet Boll.* ² *constitutus CF₃ Boll.* ³ *episcopus Boll.* ⁴ *om. me-fateor Boll.* ⁵ *barbaros F₄ corr.* ⁶ *utique Boll.* ⁷ *om. gentes CF₃F₄.* ⁸ *om. habito Boll.* ⁹ *perfuga Boll.* ¹⁰ *ille est Boll.* ¹¹ *ac Boll.* ¹² *excitauit CF₃F₄ (F₄ add me, written over).* ¹³ *noui C; uiuo F₃.* ¹⁴ *quibus CF₃F₄;* etsi nunc contemnora quibusdam. Et manu, &c. *Boll.*; *om. a F₄ corr.* ¹⁵ *ac Boll.* ¹⁶ *atque Boll.* ¹⁷ *For quasi-sag., que sanguelentos sanguinare de sanguine CF₃F₄; sangulentos F₃; sanguinolentos F₄ corr.* ¹⁸ *innumerus CF₃F₄.* ¹⁹ *crismate F₄ corr.* ²⁰ *ins. dum [fides] Boll.* ²¹ *flagrabant F₄ corr.; fragrabat F₃.* ²² *om. dum Boll.* ²³ *ins. et CF₃F₄*.* ²⁴ *indulgeretur Boll.* ²⁵ *ceperant F₄.* ²⁶ *quid F₃ Boll.; quos F₄ corr.* ²⁷ *lugebam F₃.* ²⁸ *[qui] perenni poenae in gehennâ Boll.; perenne CF₃F₄;* gehennae *F₄ corr.* ²⁹ *mancipabuntur Boll.* ³⁰ *ins. peccati Boll.* ³¹ *diaboli Boll.*

1. 1 Cor. 4, 7; 15, 10; Lev. 25, 23; Rom. 10, 2; 2 Cor. 11, 10; Phil. 2, 30.
4. Joh. 8, 34, 44.

5. Quarepropter sciat¹ omnis homo timens Deum² quod a³ me alieni sunt et a Christo Deo meo *pro quo legationem⁴ fungor*; patricida, fratri-
cida,⁵ *lupi rapaces, deuorantes plebem Domini ut cibum panis*. Sicut ait :
Iniqui dissipauerunt legem tuam, Domine, quam⁶ in supremis tempori-
bus Hiberione optime et⁷ benigne plantauerat, atque instructa erat,⁸ 5
fauente Deo.⁹

6. Non usurpo. Partem habeo cum his quos¹⁰ *aduocauit et¹¹ prae-*
destinauit euangelium praedicare in persecutionibus non paruis usque
ad extremum terrae, etsi inuidet inimicus per tyrannidem Corotici, qui
Deum non ueretur nec sacerdotes ipsius¹² quos elegit, et indulsit illis 10
summam diuinam sublimem¹³ potestatem : quos ligarent super terram
ligatos esse¹⁴ et in caelis.

7. Unde ergo quaeso plurimum,¹⁵ *sancti et humiles corde, adulari*
talibus non licet, nec cibum nec potum sumere cum ipsis, nec elemo-
sinas ipsorum recipere debere¹⁶ donec crudeliter poenitentiam agentes 15
effusis lacrimis satis Deo faciant,¹⁷ et liberent seruos Dei et ancillas
Christi baptizatas, pro quibus mortuus est et crucifixus.

8. *Dona¹⁸ iniquorum reprobant Altissimus.¹⁹ Qui offert sacrificium*
ex substantia pauperum²⁰ quasi qui²¹ uictimat filium in conspectu patris
sui.²² Diuitias,²³ inquit, quas congregauit²⁴ iniuste²⁵ euomentur de uentre 20
eius, trahit illum angelus mortis,²⁶ ira draconum multabitur,²⁷ interficiet
illum lingua colubris,²⁸ comedit²⁹ eum ignis inextinguibilis. Ideoque,
Uae qui replent se his³⁰ quae non sunt sua. Uel,³¹ Quid prodest homini
ut³² totum mundum lucretur,³³ et animae suae detrimentum³⁴ patiatur.

9. Longum est per singula discutere³⁵ uel insinuare, per totam 25
legem carpere³⁶ testimonia de tali cupiditate. Auaritia mortale

¹ Quapropter resciat *Boll.* F₃; Propter quam rem sc. F₄. ² Domini F₃.
³ om. a C. ⁴ legatione *Boll.* F₄ corr. ⁵ patricidae et fratricidae *Boll.*
⁶ quoniam C. ⁷ om. et CF₃F₄. ⁸ instruxerat *Boll.* ⁹ Domino F₃
written over. ¹⁰ om. quos F₃. ¹¹ uocauit ac *Boll.* ¹² eius¹ *Boll.* ¹³ diuinamque
pot. *Boll.*; sublimam CF₃F₄*. ¹⁴ esse lig. *Boll.* ¹⁵ primum Dei (om.
sancti) F₃. ¹⁶ debent recipi *Boll.* ¹⁷ eff. lacr. poen. agentes satisfaciant
Deo *Boll.*; om. agentes CF₃F₄. ¹⁸ ins. enim *Boll.* ¹⁹ ins. et *Boll.*
²⁰ pauperis *Boll.* ²¹ om. qui CF₄. ²² om. sui *Boll.* ²³ Diuitiae *Boll.*
²⁴ congregabit CF₄. ²⁵ iniustus F₄ corr. ²⁶ ang. mort. trah. illum *Boll.*;
angelum CF₃F₄*. ²⁷ muelabitur F₃; muletabitur *Boll.* ²⁸ colubri F₄ corr.
Boll.; coluris CF₄*. ²⁹ comedit *Boll.*; ins. autem F₃. ³⁰ om. his CF₃F₄.
³¹ et *Boll.* ³² si *Boll.* ³³ ins. se autem ipsum perdat *Boll.* ³⁴ detr. an.
suae *Boll.* ³⁵ discurrere *Boll.* ³⁶ capere C; carptim *Boll.*

5. Eph. 6, 20; Act. 20, 29; Matt. 7, 15; Ps. 13, 4; 118, 126. 6. Rom. 8, 30;
Act. 13, 47; Joh. 15, 16; Matt. 16, 19. 7. Dan. 3, 87. 8. Sir. 34, 23, 24;
Job 20, 15; Hab. 2, 6; Matt. 16, 26.

crimen. *Non concupisces rem proximi tui. Non occides. Homicida non potest esse cum Christo. Qui¹ odit fratrem suum homicida² adscribitur. Uel,³ Qui non diligit fratrem suum in morte manet.⁴ Quanto magis reus est qui manus suas coinquinavit⁵ in sanguine filiorum Dei, quos nuper adquisiuit⁶ in ultimis⁷ terrae per exhortationem paruitatis nostrae?*

10. Numquid sine Deo, uel *secundum carnem* Hiberione⁸ ueni? Quis me compulit—*Alligatus⁹ spiritu*—ut non¹⁰ uideam aliquem de cognatione mea? Numquid a me¹¹ piam misericordiam quod¹² ago
10 erga gentem illam¹³ qui¹⁴ me aliquando ceperunt,¹⁵ et deuastauerunt¹⁶ seruos et ancillas domus¹⁷ patris mei? Ingenuus fui¹⁸ secundum carnem. Decorione¹⁹ patre nascor. Uendidi enim²⁰ nobilitatem meam—non erubesco neque me²¹ poenitet—pro utilitate aliorum. Denique seruus²² sum in Christo genti exterarum ob gloriam ineffabilem
15 *perennis uitae quae est in Christo Iesu Domino nostro.*

11. Et si mei me²³ non cognoscunt, *propheta in patria sua honorem non habet. Forte non sumus ex uno ouili,²⁴ neque unum Deum Patrem habemus; sicut ait: Qui non est mecum contra me est, et qui non congregat mecum spargit.²⁵ Non conuenit, Unus destruit alter*
20 *aedificat. Non²⁶ quaero quae mea sunt.*

Non mea gratia, sed Deus quidem *hanc²⁷ sollicitudinem [dedit]²⁸ in corde meo, ut unus²⁹ essem de uenatoribus siue³⁰ piscatoribus quos olim Deus in nouissimis diebus ante praenuntiauit.*

12. Inuidetur mihi. Quid faciam Domine? Ualde despicio.
25 Ecce oues tuae circa me laniantur atque depraedantur, et³¹ supradictis latrunculis, iubente Corotico hostili³² mente.³³ Longe est a caritate Dei traditor Christianorum in manus Scottorum atque Pictorum. *Lupi rapaces* deglutierunt gregem Domini qui utique Hiberione cum summa diligentia optime crescebat³⁴; Et filii Scottorum et³⁵ filiae

¹ ins. enim Boll. ² ins. esse Boll. ³ et Boll. ⁴ manet in morte Boll.
⁵ coinquinat Boll. ⁶ conquisiuit Boll. ⁷ ins. finibus Boll.
⁸ Hyberionem Boll. ⁹ ins. sum F₃ Boll. ¹⁰ om. non C. ¹¹ amo Boll.; erased in F₄.
¹² quod erased in F₄. ¹³ illam gentem Boll. ¹⁴ quae Boll. ¹⁵ coepit Boll.
¹⁶ deuastauit Boll. ¹⁷ om. domus Boll. ¹⁸ sum Boll. ¹⁹ nam decurione Boll.
²⁰ autem Boll. ²¹ om. me Boll. ²² om. seruus Boll. ²³ om. me Boll.
²⁴ patre, neque ex uno ouili; sicut ait Dominus, qui &c. Boll.; Deum unum F₄.
²⁵ om. contra—mecum C. ²⁶ num Boll. ²⁷ hanc quidem Boll.
²⁸ So Denis. ²⁹ om. unus Boll. ³⁰ ins. de Boll. ³¹ a Boll.
³² hoste Boll.; hostile CF₃F₄*. ³³ ins. enim Boll. ³⁴ cresc. opt. F₄.
³⁵ ac Boll.

9. Rom. 13, 9; 1 Joh. 3, 14, 15; Es. 43; 21. 10. 2 Cor. 1, 17; Act. 20, 22; Rom. 6, 23. 11. Joh. 4, 44; 10, 16; Eph. 4, 6; Matt. 12, 30; Sir. 34, 28; 1 Cor. 13, 5; 2 Cor. 8, 16; Jer. 16, 16; Att. 2, 17. 12. Act. 20, 29.

regulorum monachi et uirgines Christi enumerare nequeo. Quam ob rem *iniuria iustorum non te¹ placeat; etiam usque ad inferos non placebit.*²

13. Quis sanctorum non horreat iocundare uel conuiuium³ frueretur cum talibus? De spoliis defunctorum Christianorum repleuerunt⁵ domus⁵ suas. De rapinis uiuunt. Nesciunt miser⁶ uenenum,⁷ letalem⁸ cibum porrigunt ad⁹ amicos et filios suos: sicut Eua non intellexit quod utique¹⁰ mortem tradidit uiro suo. Sic sunt omnes qui male agunt; *mortem*¹¹ perennem poenam operantur.¹²

14. Consuetudo Romanorum Gallorum¹³ Christianorum—Mittunt¹⁰ uiros¹⁴ sanctos idoneos ad Francos et caeteras¹⁵ gentes cum tot milia¹⁶ solidorum ad redimendos captiuos baptizatos¹⁷; tu toties¹⁸ interficis et uendis illos genti exterarum ignorantem Deum. Quasi in lupanar tradis membra¹⁹ Christi. Qualem spem habes in Deum, uel²⁰ qui te consentit,²¹ aut qui te²² communicat uerbis adulationis²³? Deus¹⁵ iudicabit; scriptum est enim: *Non solum facientes mala, sed etiam consentientes dampnandi sunt.*

15. Nescio quid dicam uel²⁴ quid loquar amplius de defunctis filiorum Dei quos gladius supra modum dure²⁵ tetigit. Scriptum est enim: *Flete*²⁶ cum flentibus. Et iterum: *Si dolet unum membrum*²⁰ *condoleant*²⁷ omnia membra. Quapropter ecclesia plorat²⁸ et planget²⁹ filios et filias suas quas³⁰ adhuc gladius nondum³¹ interfecit, sed prolongati et³² exportati in³³ longa terrarum,³⁴ ubi peccatum manifeste grauetur, impudenter³⁵ habundat. Ibi uenundati ingenui homines, Christiani in seruitutem³⁶ redacti sunt, praesertim indignissimorum²⁵ pessimorum apostatarumque Pictorum.³⁷

16. Idcirco cum tristitia et merore uociferabor³⁸: O speciosissimi

¹ tibi F₄ corr. ² qui propter iniur. . . placat . . . placabit Boll. ³ conuiuio F₄ corr. ⁴ frui F₄ corr.; facere Boll. ⁵ domos F₄ corr. Boll.
⁶ misereri Boll. ⁷ ins. bibunt Boll. ⁸ letale CF₃. ⁹ et F₃.
¹⁰ om. utique C. ¹¹ om. tradidit—mortem CF₄. ¹² poenamque perpetuam op. Boll.; operatur F₄ corr. ¹³ ins. que Boll. ¹⁴ presbyteros Boll. ¹⁵ exterarum Boll.
¹⁶ millibus Boll. ¹⁷ baptizat CF₃F₄. ¹⁸ So F₄ corr.; totius CF₃; omnes Boll. ¹⁹ membris F₃. . . . ²⁰ om. uel Boll. ²¹ tecum sentit Boll.
²² om. te Boll. ²³ alienis et adulationi Boll. ²⁴ aut Boll. ²⁵ om. dure Boll.
²⁶ flere Boll. ²⁷ condolent Boll. ²⁸ ploret F₃. ²⁹ plangit Boll.
³⁰ quos Boll. ³¹ nond. glad. hostilis Boll. ³² om. prol. et Boll.
³³ B resumes (exporta § ti). ³⁴ ins. spatia B. ³⁵ ins. impudens ibi habitat et B. ³⁶ seruitute CF₃F₄. ³⁷ pessimorumque atque apostatarum Pict. B. ³⁸ uociferabor F₄.

12. Sir. 9, 17. 13. 2 Cor. 7, 10. 14. 1 Cor. 6, 15; Rom. 1, 32. 15. Joh. 12, 49; 2 Cor. 1, 8; Rom. 12, 15; 1 Cor. 12, 26.

atque amantissimi fratres et filii quos in Christo genui, enumerare nequeo, quid faciam uobis? Non sum dignus Deo¹ neque hominibus subuenire. *Praeualuit iniquitas iniquorum super nos.* Quasi *extranei facti sumus.* Forte non credunt *unum baptismum* percepimus² uel³ *unum Deum Patrem* habemus. Indignum est illis⁴ Hiberia nati sumus. Sicut ait⁵: *Nonne unum Deum habetis? Quid dereliquistis unusquisque proximum suum?*

17. Idcirco doleo pro uobis, doleo, carissimi mihi⁶; sed iterum gaudeo intra meipsum.⁷ Non gratis *laboravi* uel⁸ peregrinatio mea *in uacuum* non fuit.⁹ Et contigit scelus tam horrendum¹⁰ et ineffabile! Deo gratias, creduli¹¹ baptizati de saeculo¹² recessistis ad paradisum. Cerno uos. Migrare cepistis ubi *nox non erit, neque luctus, neque mors amplius, sed exultabitis sicut uituli ex uinculis resoluti, et conculcabitis iniquos, et erunt cinis sub pedibus* *uestris.*

18. Uos ergo regnabitis cum apostolis et prophetis atque martyr-ibus¹³; aeterna regna capietis, sicut ipse testatur inquiens¹⁴; *Uenient ab oriente et¹⁵ occidente et recumbent cum Abraham et Isaac et Iacob in regno caelorum; Foris canes et uenefici¹⁶ et homicidae; et mendacibus et* *periuris¹⁷ pars eorum in stagnum ignis aeterni.*¹⁸ Non merito¹⁹ ait apostolus, *Ubi iustus uix saluus erit, peccator et impius²⁰ transgressor legis ubi se recognoscet²¹?*

19. Unde enim Coroticus cum suis sceleratissimis, rebellatores²² Christi, ubi se uidebunt? qui²³ mulierculas baptizatas²⁴ praemia *distribuunt²⁵ ob miserum²⁶ regnum temporale quod utique in momento transeat²⁷ sicut nubes uel fumus qui utique uento dispergitur.* Ita *peccatores²⁸ fraudulentum a facie Domini peribunt, iusti autem epulentur in magna constantia cum Christo,²⁹ iudicabunt nationes et regibus iniquis dominabuntur in saecula saeculorum, Amen.*

¹ om. Deo B.² percipimus CF₃F₄.³ et B.⁴ ins. quod de B.⁵ sic enim aiunt B.⁶ mei F₃F₄.⁷ ins. quia B.⁸ et B.⁹ om. nonF₃.¹⁰ scelus illo in tempore horridum B; om. foll. et CF₃F₄.¹¹ credentes

et B.

¹² celo F₃.¹³ ins. et B.¹⁴ inquit CF₃F₄.¹⁵ ab F₄.¹⁶ ueneficos CF₃F₄*.¹⁷ mendaces ... periuri BF₄ corr.; om. et CF₃F₄.¹⁸ aeternae CF₄*.¹⁹ immerito F₄ corr.; enim in uanum B.²⁰ ins. et B.²¹ recognoscit CF₃F₄.²² rebellatoribus BF₄ corr.²³ quam CF₃F₄*.²⁴ ins. et predia orphanorum spurcissimis satellitibus suis, om. praemia B.²⁵ So F₄²⁶ corr.; distribuunt BCF₃.²⁷ So F₄ corr.; misere B; miserere C; miscere F₃.²⁸ transit B.²⁹ ins. et B.³⁰ ins. et B.

16. Ps. 64, 4; 68, 9; Eph. 4, 5; Mal. 2, 10. 17. Phil. 2, 16; Apoc. 22, 5; 21, 4; Mal. 4, 2. 18. Matt. 8, 11; Apoc. 22, 15; 21, 8; 1 Pet. 4, 18. 19. Sap. 5, 15; Ps. 67, 3.

20. *Testificor coram Deo et¹ angelis suis, quod ita erit sicut intimauit² imperitiae meae. Non mea uerba,³ sed Dei et apostolorum atque prophetarum, quod⁴ ego⁵ Latinum exposui,⁶ qui numquam⁷ mentiti sunt. Qui crediderit saluus erit,⁸ qui uero non crediderit condempnabitur. Deus enim⁹ locutus est.*

21. Quaeso plurimum ut quicumque famulus Dei¹⁰ promptus fuerit ut sit gerulus litterarum harum, ut nequaquam subtrahatur a nemine, sed magis potius legatur coram cunctis plebibus, et praesente ipso Corotico. Quod si Deus inspirat illos ut quandoque Deo resipiscant, ita ut¹¹ uel sero poeniteant¹² quod tam impie gesserunt.—¹⁰ Homicida¹³ erga fratres Domini!¹⁴—et liberent captiuas baptizatas quas¹⁵ ante ceperunt, ita ut mererentur¹⁶ Deo uiuere, et sani efficiantur hic et in aeternum. Pax Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto, Amen.¹⁷

¹ *ins.* sanctis B. ² intimabit F₃; intimauit F₄ *corr.* ³ *ins.* sunt ista B. ⁴ quae B. ⁵ *ins.* in B. ⁶ transtuli B. ⁷ *ins.* enim CF₃F₄.
⁸ Et qui crediderint salui erunt B. ⁹ *om.* enim CF₃F₄. ¹⁰ *ins.* ut CF₃F₄.
¹¹ *om.* ut F₂. ¹² peniteat C; peniteatur F₄ *corr.* ¹³ homicidae F₄ *corr.*
¹⁴ *ins.* fuerunt, sed peniteant B; et *erased in* F₄. ¹⁵ quos CF₄. ¹⁶ mereantur BF₄ *corr.* ¹⁷ Explicit Pass: F₄.

TRANSLATION.

[As far as is possible, in the quotations from the Bible, the rendering of the English Version of 1611 has been followed, except in O. T. Apocrypha, in which the Douay Version of 1609 has been used.]

CONFESSION.

1. I, PATRICK the sinner, am the most rustic and the least of all the faithful, and contemptible in the eyes of very many.

My father was Calpornus, a deacon, a son of Potitus, a presbyter, who belonged to the village of Bannavem Taberniae. Now he had a small farm hard by, where I was taken captive.

I was then about sixteen years of age. I knew not the true God, and I was led into captivity to Ireland with many thousands of persons, in accordance with our deservings, because *we departed away from God, and kept not His commandments*, and were not obedient to our priests, who were wont to admonish us for our salvation. And the Lord *poured upon us the fury of His anger, and scattered us amongst many heathen unto the ends of the earth*, where now my littleness may be seen amongst men of another race.

2. And there the Lord *opened the understanding* of my unbelief that, even though late, I might call to mind my faults, and that I might *turn with all my heart* to the Lord my God who *regarded my low estate*, and pitied the youth of my ignorance, and preserved me before I knew Him, and before I had discernment or could distinguish between good and evil, and protected me and comforted me as a father does his son.

3. Wherefore, I cannot keep silence—nor would it be fitting—concerning such great benefits and such great grace as the Lord has vouchsafed to bestow on me *in the land of my captivity*, because this is *what we can render unto Him*, namely, that after we have been chastened, and have come to *the knowledge of God*, we should exalt and *praise His wondrous works before every nation which is under the whole heaven*.

4. Because there is no other God, nor was there ever any in times past, nor shall there be hereafter, except God the Father unbegotten,

without beginning, from whom is all beginning, Almighty, as we say, and His Son, Jesus Christ, whom we declare to have always existed with the Father before the beginning of the world, with the Father after the manner of a spiritual existence, begotten ineffably, before all beginning. And *by Him* were made *things visible and invisible*. He was made man, and having overcome death He was *received up* into heaven to the Father. And *He gave to Him all power above every name of things in heaven and things in earth, and things under the earth; and let every tongue confess to Him that Jesus Christ is Lord and God* in whom we believe. And we look for His coming, soon to be the Judge of the quick and the dead, *who will render to every man according to his deeds*. And *He shed on us abundantly the Holy Ghost, the gift and earnest of immortality, who makes those who believe and obey to become children of God and joint heirs with Christ, whom we confess and adore as one God in the Trinity of the Holy Name.*

5. For He hath Himself said through the prophet: *Call upon me in the day of trouble, I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.* And again He saith: *It is honourable to reveal and confess the works of God.*

6. Nevertheless, although I am faulty in many things, I wish my brethren and kinsfolk to know what manner of man I am, that they may be able to understand the desire of my soul.

7. I do not forget *the testimony of my Lord*, who witnesseth in the Psalm, *Thou shalt destroy them that speak a lie.* And again He saith: *The mouth that believeth killeth the soul.* And the same Lord saith in the Gospel: *The idle word that men shall speak they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment.*

8. Therefore I ought exceedingly, *with fear and trembling*, to dread this sentence in that day when no one will be able to absent himself or hide, but when all of us, without exception, shall have to *give account* of even the smallest sins *before the judgment seat of Christ* the Lord.

9. On this account I had long since thought of writing, but I hesitated until now; for I feared lest I should fall under the censure of men's tongues, because I have not studied as have others, who in the most approved fashion have drunk in both law and Holy Scripture alike, and have never changed their language from the time that they were born, but on the contrary have been always rendering it more perfect.

For my *speech and word* is translated into a tongue not my own, as can easily be proved from the savour of my writing, in what fashion I have been taught and am learned in language; for, saith the Wise Man, *By the tongue will be discovered understanding and knowledge and the teaching of truth.*

10. But what avails an excuse, no matter how true, especially when accompanied by presumption? since now I myself, in mine old age, covet that which in youth I did not acquire, because my sins prevented me from mastering what I had read through before. But who gives me credence although I should repeat the statement that I made at the outset?

When a youth, nay almost a boy in speech [*or, a beardless boy*], I was taken captive before I knew what I should seek, or what I should desire, or what I ought to avoid. And so to-day I blush and am exceeding afraid to lay bare my skilllessness. Because, not being learned, I am unable to make my meaning plain in few words; for as the Spirit longs, the affection displays the souls of men, and their understandings.

11. But if I had had the same privileges as others, nevertheless I would not keep silence *on account of the reward*. And if perchance it seems to many that I am thrusting myself forward in this matter with my want of knowledge and *slow tongue*, yet it is written: *The tongue of the stammerers shall quickly learn to speak peace.* How much rather should we covet so to do, who are, he saith, *the epistle of Christ, for salvation unto the ends of the earth*, although not a learned one, yet a most powerful decree, *written in your hearts, not with ink but with the Spirit of the living God.* And again the Spirit witnesseth, *And rusticity was ordained by the Most High.*

12. Whence I who was at first a rustic, an exile, unlearned as everybody knows, who know not how to provide for the future—but this I do know of a certainty that verily *before I was afflicted* I was like a stone lying in *the deep mire*, and *He that is mighty* came, and in His mercy lifted me up, and indeed raised me aloft and placed me on the top of the wall. And therefore I ought to cry aloud that I may also *render somewhat to the Lord* for His benefits which are so great both here and in eternity, the value of which the mind of men cannot estimate.

13. Wherefore then be ye astonished, *ye that fear God, both small and great*, and ye lordly rhetoricians, hear and search out. Who was

it that called up me, fool though I be, out of the midst of those who seem to be wise and skilful in the law, and *powerful in word* and in everything? And me, moreover, who am abominated of this world, did He inspire beyond others—if such I were—only that *with reverence and godly fear* and *unblamably* I should faithfully serve the nation to whom *the love of Christ* conveyed me, and presented me, as long as I live, if I should be worthy; in fine, that I should with humility and in truth serve them.

14. And so it is proper that, *according to the proportion of faith* in the Trinity, we should make doctrinal distinctions, and make known *the gift of God* and *everlasting consolation*, without being held back by danger; to spread everywhere the name of God without fear, confidently; so that even *after my decease* I may leave a legacy to my brethren and sons whom I baptized in the Lord, so many thousands of persons.

15. And I was not worthy, nor such an one, as that the Lord should grant this to His poor servant after calamities and such great difficulties, after a life of slavery, after many years; that He should bestow on me so great grace towards that nation, a thing that formerly, in my youth, I never hoped for nor thought of.

16. Now, after I arrived in Ireland, tending flocks was my daily occupation; and constantly I used to pray in the daytime. Love of God and the fear of Him increased more and more, and faith grew and the spirit was roused, so that in one day I would say as many as a hundred prayers, and at night nearly as many, [even] while I was out in the woods and on the mountain side. Before daybreak I used to be roused to prayer, and I felt no hurt, whether there were snow, frost, or rain; nor was there any sluggishness in me—as I now see, because then *the spirit was fervent* within me.

17. And there verily one night I heard in my sleep a voice saying to me, “Thou fastest well; who art soon to go to thy fatherland.” And, again, after a very short time I heard *the answer of God* saying to me, “Lo, thy ship is ready.” And it was not near at hand, but was, perhaps, distant two hundred miles. And I had never been there, nor did I know anyone there. And thereupon I shortly took to flight, and left the man with whom I had been for six years, and I came in the strength of God who *prospered my way* for good, and I met with nothing to alarm me until I reached that ship.

18. And on the very day that I arrived, the ship left its moorings, and I said that I had wherewith I might sail thence with them, but the shipmaster was angry, and replied harshly with indignation, "On no account seek to go with us."

When I heard this I left them, to go to the hut where I was lodging, and on my way I began to pray, and before I had finished my prayer, I heard one of them shouting loudly after me: "Come quickly, for these men are calling thee"; and straightway I returned to them.

And they began to say to me: "Come, for we receive thee in good faith; make friends with us in any way thou desirest." And so on that day I refused to *suck* their *breasts*, on account of the fear of God; but nevertheless I hoped that some of them would come into the faith of Jesus Christ, for they were heathen, and on this account I continued with them; and forthwith we set sail.

19. And after three days we reached land, and journeyed for twenty-eight days through a desert; and food failed them, and hunger *overcame* them. And one day the shipmaster began to say to me, "What sayest thou, O Christian? Thy God is great and almighty, wherefore then canst thou not pray for us? for we are in danger of starvation. It will be hard for us ever to see a human being again."

Then said I plainly to them, "*Turn earnestly and with all your heart to the Lord my God, to whom nothing is impossible, that this day He may send you food in your journey until ye be satisfied, for He has abundance everywhere.*"

And, by the help of God, so it came to pass. Lo, a herd of swine appeared in the way before our eyes, and they killed many of them; and in that place they remained two nights; and they were well refreshed, and their dogs were sated, for many of them had *fainted*, and were *left half dead* by the way.

And after this they rendered hearty thanks to God, and I became honourable in their eyes; and from that day they had food in abundance. Moreover, they found *wild honey*, and *gave me a piece of it*. And one of them said, "*This is offered in sacrifice.*" Thank God, I tasted none of it.

20. Now on that same night when I was sleeping, Satan tempted me mightily, in such sort as I shall remember *as long as I am in this body*. And there fell upon me as it were a huge rock, and I had no power over my limbs. But whence did it come into my mind to call upon

Helias? And on this I saw the sun rise in the heaven, and while I was shouting "Helias, Helias," with all my might, lo, the splendour of that sun fell upon me, and straightway shook all weight from off me. And I believe that I was helped by Christ my Lord, and that His Spirit was even then calling aloud on my behalf. And I trust that it will be so *in the day of my distress*, as He saith in the Gospel, *In that day, the Lord witnesseth, it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.*

21. And again, after many years more, I was taken captive. And so on that first night I remained with them. Moreover I heard *the answer of God* saying to me: "For two months thou shalt be with them." And so it came to pass. On the sixtieth night after, the Lord *delivered me out of their hands.*

22. Moreover He provided for us on our journey food and fire and dry quarters every day until on the tenth day we all reached our destination. As I stated above, for twenty-eight days we journeyed through a desert; and on the night on which we all reached our destination we had in truth no food left.

23. And again, after a few years, I was in Britain with my family, who received me as a son and earnestly besought me that at all events now, after the great tribulations which I had undergone, I would not depart from them anywhither.

And there indeed *I saw in the night visions* a man whose name was Victorius coming as it were from Ireland with countless letters. And he gave me one of them, and I read the beginning of the letter, which was entitled, The Voice of the Irish; and while I was reading aloud the beginning of the letter I thought that at that very moment I heard the voice of them who lived beside the wood of Foclut, which is nigh unto the Western Sea. And thus they cried, as *with one mouth*, "We beseech thee, holy youth, to come hither and walk among us."

And I was exceedingly *broken in heart*, and could read no more. And so I awoke. God be thanked that after many years the Lord granted to them according to their cry.

24. And another night, whether within me or beside me, *I cannot tell, God knoweth*, in most admirable words which I heard and could not understand, except that at the end of the prayer, He spoke thus: "He who *laid down His life for thee*, He it is who speaketh in thee." And so I awoke rejoicing.

25. And another time I saw Him praying within me, and I was as it were within my body ; and I heard [Him praying] over me, that is over *the inner man*, and there He was praying mightily with groanings. And meanwhile *I was astonished*, and was marvelling and thinking who it could be that was praying within me ; but at the end of the prayer He spoke to the effect that He was the Spirit ; and so I awoke, and I remembered how the apostle saith : *The Spirit helpeth the infirmities of our prayer, for we know not what we should pray for as we ought ; but the Spirit Himself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered, which cannot be expressed in words.* And again, *The Lord our advocate maketh intercession for us.*

26. And when I was tempted by not a few of my elders, who came and [urged] my sins against my laborious episcopate—certainly on that day *I was sore thrust at that I might fall here and in eternity.* But the Lord graciously spared *the stranger and sojourner, for His name's sake*, and He helped me exceedingly when I was thus trampled on, so that I did not fall badly into disgrace and reproach. I pray God that it be not *reckoned to them* as sin.

27. After the lapse of thirty years *they found occasion*, and that against a word that I had confessed before I was a deacon. On account of anxiety, with sorrowful mind I disclosed to my dearest friend what I had done in my youth one day, nay, in one hour, because I was not yet able to prevail. *I cannot tell, God knoweth*, if I was then fifteen years old ; and I did not believe in the living God, nor had I since my infancy ; but I remained in death and in unbelief until I had been chastened exceedingly, and humbled in truth by hunger and nakedness, and that daily.

28. Contrariwise, I did not proceed to Ireland of my own accord *until I was nearly worn out.* But this was rather well for me, because in this way I was corrected by the Lord. And He fitted me, so that I should to-day be something which was once far from me, that I should care for and be busy about the salvation of others, whereas then I did not even think about myself.

29. And so on that day on which I was *disallowed* by the persons whom I have mentioned above, on that night *I saw in the night visions.* There was a writing void of honour opposite my face. And meanwhile I heard *the answer of God* saying to me : “ We have seen with pain the face of him who is designated by name stripped [of its due title] ”

nor did He say thus: "Thou hast seen with pain," but, "We have seen with pain," as if in that matter He had joined Himself with me. As He hath said: *He that toucheth you is as he that toucheth the apple of mine eye.*

30. Therefore I render thanks to Him *who hath strengthened me* in all things, so as not to hinder me from the journey on which I had resolved, and from my labour which I had learnt from Christ my Lord; but rather *I felt in myself* no little *virtue* proceeding from Him, and my *faith has been approved* in the sight of God and men.

31. Wherefore then *I say boldly* that my conscience does not blame me here or hereafter. *God is my witness that I have not lied* in the matters that I have stated to you.

32. But I am the rather grieved for my dearest friend that we should have deserved to hear such an answer as that. A man to whom I had even entrusted my soul! And I ascertained from not a few of the brethren before that *defence*—it was at a time when I was not present, nor was I in Britain, nor will the story originate with me—that he too had fought for me in my absence. Even he himself had said to me with his own lips: "Lo, thou art to be raised to the rank of bishop"; of which I was not worthy. But how did it occur to him afterwards to *put me to shame* publicly before everyone, good and bad, in respect of an [office] which before that he had of his own accord and gladly granted [me], and the Lord too, who is *greater than all*?

33. I have said enough. Nevertheless, I ought not to hide *the gift of God* which He bestowed upon us *in the land of my captivity*; because then I earnestly sought Him, and there I found Him, and He preserved me from all iniquities. This is my belief, *because of His indwelling Spirit* who *hath worked* in me until this day. *Boldly* again [am I speaking]. But God knoweth if man had said this to me, perchance I would have held my peace for *the love of Christ*.

34. Hence therefore I render unwearied thanks to my God who kept me faithful *in the day of my temptation*, so that to-day I can confidently offer to Him a sacrifice, as a *living victim*, my soul to Christ my Lord, who *saved me out of all my troubles*, so that I may say: *Who am I, O Lord*, or what is my *calling*, that Thou hast disclosed such Divine power to me? so that to-day among the heathen I should steadfastly *exalt and magnify Thy name* wherever I may be; and that not only in

prosperity, but also in afflictions, so that whatever may happen to me, whether good or bad, I ought to receive it with an equal mind, and ever render thanks to God who shewed me that I might trust Him endlessly, as one that cannot be doubted; and who heard me, so that I, ignorant as I am, should *in the last days*, begin to undertake this work so holy and so wonderful; so that I might imitate, in some degree, those whom the Lord long ago foretold would herald His Gospel *for a witness unto all nations before the end of the world*. And accordingly, as we see, this has been so fulfilled. Behold, we are witnesses that *the Gospel has been preached* to the limit beyond which no man dwells.

35. Now, it were a tedious task to narrate the whole of my toil in its details, or even partially. I shall briefly say in what manner the most gracious God often delivered [me] from slavery and from the twelve perils whereby my soul was imperilled, besides many plots, and *things which I am not able to express in words*. Nor shall I weary my readers. But I have as my voucher God who knoweth all things, even before they come to pass, as *the answer of God* frequently warned me, though I was but a poor, humble, *unlearned* orphan.

36. Whence came to me this wisdom, which was not in me, I who neither *knew the number of my days*, nor *savoured* God? Whence afterwards came to me that gift so great, so salutary, the knowledge and love of God, but only that I might part with fatherland and parents?

37. And many gifts were proffered me with weeping and tears. And I displeased them, and also, against my wish, not a few of my elders, but, God being my guide, I did not at all consent or assent to them. It was not my grace, but God who overcometh in me, and He withstood them all, so that I came to the heathen Irish to preach the Gospel, and to endure insults from unbelievers, so as to *hear the reproach of my going abroad*, and suffer many persecutions *even unto bonds*, and that I should give my free condition for the profit of others. And if I should be worthy, I am *ready* [to give] even *my life* for His name's sake unhesitatingly and *very gladly*; and there I desire to *spend* it until I die, if the Lord would grant it to me.

38. Because *I am a debtor* exceedingly to God, who granted me such great grace that many peoples through me should be regenerated to God and afterwards confirmed, and that clergy should everywhere be ordained for them, to a people newly come to belief which the

Lord took from the ends of the earth. As He had in times past promised through His prophets: *The Gentiles shall come unto thee from the ends of the earth, and shall say: As our fathers have got for themselves false idols, and there is no profit in them. And again, I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the ends of the earth.*

39. And there I wish to wait for His promise who verily never disappoints. As He promises in the Gospel: *They shall come from the east and west, and from the south and from the north, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob; as we believe that believers will come from all parts of the world.*

40. For that reason, therefore, we ought to fish well and diligently, as the Lord forewarns and teaches, saying: *Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men. And again, He saith through the prophets: Behold, I send fishers and many hunters, saith God, and so forth.*

Wherefore, then, it was exceedingly necessary that we should spread our nets, so that a great multitude and a throng should be taken for God, and that everywhere there should be clergy to baptize and exhort a people, poor and needy, as the Lord in the Gospel warns and teaches, saying: *Go ye therefore now, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. And again He saith: Go ye therefore into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned. And again: This Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come.*

And in like manner the Lord, foreshewing by the prophet, saith: *And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams: and on my servants and on my handmaidens I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy. And He saith in Osee, I will call them my people, which were not my people; and her that had obtained mercy, which had not obtained mercy. And it shall come to pass that in the place where it was said, Ye are not my people; there shall they be called the children of the living God.*

41. Whence then in Ireland they who never had the knowledge of God, but until now only worshipped idols and abominations—how has there been lately made there *a people* of the Lord, and they are called *children of God*? Sons of the Scots and daughters of chieftains are seen to become monks and virgins of Christ.

42. In especial there was one blessed lady, of Scottic birth, of noble rank, most beautiful, grown up, whom I baptized; and after a few days she came to us for a certain cause. She disclosed to us that she had received an answer by the good pleasure of God, and He warned her to become a virgin of Christ, and live closer to God. Thank God, six days after, most admirably and eagerly she seized on that which all virgins of God do in like manner; not with the consent of their fathers; but they endure persecution and lying reproaches from their parents; and nevertheless their number increases more and more, and we know not the number of our race who are there born again, in addition to widows and continent persons.

But they who are kept in slavery suffer especially. They constantly endure even unto terrors and threats. But the Lord gave grace to many of my handmaidens, for, although they are forbidden, they earnestly follow [the example set them].

43. Wherefore then, even if I wished to part with them, and proceeding to Britain—and glad and ready I was to do so—as to my fatherland and parents, and not that only, but to go as far as Gaul in order to visit the brethren, and to behold the face of the saints of my Lord—God knoweth that I used to desire it exceedingly. Yet *I am bound in the Spirit*, who *witnesseth to me* that if I should do this He would note me as guilty; and I fear to lose the labour which I began, and yet not I, but Christ the Lord, who commanded me to come and be with them for the remainder of my life, *if the Lord will*, and if he should guard me from every evil way, so that I may not *sin in His sight*.

44. Now I hope that I ought to do this, but I do not trust myself *as long as I am in the body of this death*, because he is strong who daily endeavours to turn me away from the faith, and from that chastity of unfeigned religion that I have purposed to keep to the end of my life for Christ my Lord. But *the flesh, the enemy*, is ever dragging us unto death, that is to allurements which end in woe. And *I know in part* wherein I have not led a perfect life, as have other believers; but I confess to my Lord, and I do not blush in His presence, *for I lie not*

when I say that from the time that I knew Him, *from my youth*, there grew in me the love of God and the fear of Him, and unto this hour, the Lord being gracious to me, *I have kept the faith.*

45. Let who will laugh and insult, I shall not be silent nor conceal the signs and wonders which were ministered to me by the Lord many years before they came to pass, since He knoweth all things even *before the world began.*

46. Therefore I ought without ceasing to render thanks to God who oftentimes pardoned my folly and carelessness, and that not in one place only, so that He be not exceedingly wroth with me, I, who have been given to Him as a *fellow-labourer*; and yet I did not quickly assent in accordance with what had been shewn to me, and as the Spirit brought to my remembrance. And the Lord *shewed mercy upon me thousands of times*, because He saw in me that I was ready, but that I did not know what was due by me in return for these blessings; what, in fact, I should do about my position, because many were forbidding this embassy. Moreover they were talking amongst themselves behind my back, and saying, "Why does this fellow thrust himself into danger amongst enemies who have no knowledge of God?" They did not say this out of malice, but it did not seem meet in their eyes, on account of my rusticity, as I myself witness that I have understood. And I did not quickly recognise the grace that was then in me. Now that seems meet in mine eyes which I ought to have done before.

47. Now, therefore, I have simply disclosed to my brethren and fellow-servants, who have believed me, for what reason *I told you before, and foretell you* to strengthen and confirm your faith. Would that you, too, would imitate greater things, and do things of more consequence. This will be my glory, for *A wise son is the glory of his father.*

48. You know, and God also, in what manner *I have lived from my youth* with you, in the faith of truth and sincerity of heart. Moreover, as regards those heathen amongst whom I dwell, I have kept faith with them, and will keep it. God knoweth, I have *defrauded* none of them, nor do I think of doing it, for the sake of God and His Church, lest I should *raise persecution* against them and all of us, and lest through me the name of the Lord should be blasphemed; for it is written, *Woe to the man through whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed.*

49. *But though I be rude in all things*, nevertheless I have endeavoured in some sort to keep watch over myself, even as regards the Christian brethren, and the virgins of Christ, and the religious women who used of their own accord to present me with their little gifts, and would throw off their ornaments upon the altar, and I returned them again to them. And they were scandalized at my doing so. But I did it on account of the hope of immortality, so as to keep myself warily in all things, for this reason, namely, that the heathen might receive me and the ministry of my service on any grounds, and that I should not, even in the smallest matter, give occasion to the unbelievers to defame or disparage.

50. Perchance, then, when I baptized so many thousands of men, I hoped, from any one of them even as much as the half of a scruple? *Tell me, and I shall restore it to you.* Or when the Lord ordained clergy everywhere by means of my mediocrity, and I imparted my service to them for nothing, if I demanded from one of them even the price of my shoe; *tell it against me, and I shall restore you more.*

51. *I spent for you* that they might receive me, and both amongst you, and wherever I journeyed for your sake, through many perils, even to outlying regions beyond which no man dwelt, and where never had anyone come to baptize or ordain clergy, or confirm the people, I have, by the bounty of the Lord, done everything, carefully and very gladly, for your salvation.

52. On occasion, I used to give presents to the kings, besides the hire that I gave to their sons who accompany me, and nevertheless they seized me with my companions. And on that day they most eagerly desired to kill me, but my time had not yet come. And everything they found with us they plundered, and they bound me myself with irons. And on the fourteenth day the Lord freed me from their power, and whatever was ours was restored to us for the sake of God, and the near friends, whom we had provided beforehand.

53. Moreover, ye know by proof how much I paid to those who acted as guides through all the districts which I more frequently visited; for I reckon that I distributed to them not less than the price of fifteen men, so that ye might enjoy me, and I might ever enjoy you in God. I do not regret it, nor is it enough for me. *Still I spend and will spend more.* The Lord is mighty to grant to me afterwards to be myself spent for your souls.

54. Behold, *I call God for a record upon my soul that I lie not*, nor would I write to you that there may be an *occasion for flattering words or covetousness*, nor that I hope for honour from any of you. Sufficient is the honour which is not yet seen, but is believed on in the heart. And *faithful is He that promised, never does He lie.*

55. But I see that already *in this present world* I am exalted *above measure* by the Lord. And I was not worthy nor such an one as that He should grant this to me; since I know of a surety that poverty and affliction become me better than riches and delights. But Christ, too, the Lord, was *poor* for our sakes: I indeed am wretched and unfortunate, though I should wish for wealth, now I have it not, *nor do I judge mine own self*, for daily I expect either slaughter or to be defrauded, or be reduced to slavery, or an unfair attack of some kind. *But none of these things move me*, on account of the promises of heaven, because I have cast myself into the hands of God Almighty, for He rules everywhere, as saith the prophet: *Cast thy care upon God, and He shall sustain thee.*

56. Behold, now *I commit the keeping of my soul to my most faithful God, for whom I am an ambassador* in my ignoble state, only because He *accepteth no man's person*, and chose me for this duty that I should be a minister, *one of His least.*

57. Whence then *shall I render unto Him for all His benefits* towards me? But what shall I say, or what shall I promise to my Lord? For I see nought except what He Himself has given to me; but *He trieth the hearts and reins.* Because enough, and more than enough, do I desire, and was ready, that He should grant me to *drink of His cup*, as He permitted to others also who love Him.

58. Wherefore let it not happen to me from my God that I should ever part with His *people which He purchased* in the ends of the earth. I pray God to give me perseverance, and to deign that I render myself to Him as a faithful witness until my passing hence for the sake of my God.

59. And if I ever imitated anything good for the sake of my God whom I love, I pray Him to grant to me that I may shed my blood with those *strangers* and captives for His name's sake, even though I should lack burial itself, or that in most wretched fashion my corpse be divided limb by limb to dogs and wild beasts, or that *the fowls of the air* eat it. Most surely I deem that if this should happen to

me I have gained my soul with my body, because without any doubt we shall rise on that day in the brightness of the sun, that is, in the glory of Christ Jesus our Redeemer, as *sons of the living God* and *joint-heirs with Christ*, and *conformed to His image* that will be, since of *Him* and *through Him* and *in Him* are all things. *To Him be glory for ever and ever.* Amen. For in Him we shall reign.

60. For that sun which we behold, by the command of God, rises daily for our sakes; but it will never reign, nor will its splendour endure; but all those who worship it shall go in misery to sore punishment. We, on the other hand, who believe in and worship the true sun, Christ, who will never perish, nor will anyone *who doeth His will*, but he will *abide for ever*, as Christ *will abide for ever*, who reigneth with God the Father Almighty and with the Holy Spirit, before the worlds, and now, and for ever and ever. Amen.

61. Lo! again and again I shall briefly set forth the words of my confession. *I testify* in truth, and in exaltation of heart *before God and His holy angels*, that I never had any cause except the Gospel and His promises for ever returning to that nation from whence previously I scarcely escaped.

62. But I pray those who believe and fear God, whosoever shall have deigned to look upon or receive this writing which Patrick the sinner, unlearned as everybody knows, composed in Ireland, that no one ever say it was my ignorance that did whatever trifling matter I did, or proved in accordance with God's good pleasure, but judge ye, and let it be most truly believed that it was *the gift of God*. And this is my confession before I die.

EPISTLE.

1. I, PATRICK the sinner, unlearned as everybody knows:—I confess that I have been appointed a bishop in Ireland. Most assuredly I deem that *I have received from God what I am*. And so I dwell in the midst of barbarous heathen, a *stranger* and exile for the love of God. He is witness if this is so. Not that I desired to utter from my mouth anything so harshly and so roughly; but I am compelled, roused as I am by *zeal for God and for the truth of Christ*; by love for my nearest friends and sons, for whom I have *not regarded* my fatherland and parents, yea, and *my life unto death*. I have vowed to my God to teach the heathen if I am worthy, though I be despised by some.

2. With mine own hand have I written and composed these words to be given and delivered and sent to the soldiers of Coroticus;—I do not say to my fellow-citizens or to the fellow-citizens of the holy Romans, but to those who are fellow-citizens of demons because of their evil works. Behaving like enemies, they are dead while they live, allies of the Scots and apostate Picts, as though wishing to gorge themselves with the blood of innocent Christians, whom I, in countless numbers, begot to God, and confirmed in Christ.

3. On the day following that on which the newly-baptized, in white array, were anointed—it was still fragrant on their foreheads, while they were cruelly butchered and slaughtered with the sword by the above-mentioned persons—I sent a letter with a holy presbyter, whom I taught from his infancy, clergy accompanying him, with a request that they would allow us some of the booty, or of the baptized captives whom they had taken. They jeered at them.

4. Therefore I know not what I should the rather mourn, whether those who are slain, or those whom they captured, or those whom the Devil grievously ensnared. In everlasting punishment they will become slaves of hell along with him, for verily *whosoever committeth sin is a bondservant*, and is called a *son of the Devil*.

5. Wherefore let every man that feareth God know that aliens they are from me and from Christ my God, *for whom I am an ambassador*; patricide, fratricide! *ravening wolves eating up the people* of the

Lord as it were bread. As he saith: *O Lord, the ungodly have destroyed thy law*, which in the last times He had excellently and kindly planted in Ireland, and it was builded by the favour of God.

6. I make no false claim. I have part with those whom *He called and predestinated* to preach the Gospel amidst no small persecutions, even unto the ends of the earth, even though the enemy casts an evil eye on me by means of the tyranny of Coroticus, who fears neither God nor His priests whom He chose, and to whom He granted that highest divine sublime power, that *whom they should bind on earth should be bound in heaven*.

7. Whence therefore, *ye holy and humble men of heart*, I beseech you earnestly, it is not right to pay court to such men, nor to take food or drink with them, nor ought one to accept their almsgivings, until by doing sore penance with shedding of tears they make amends before God, and liberate the servants of God and the baptized hand-maidens of Christ, for whom He died and was crucified.

8. *The Most High approveth not the gifts of the wicked. He that offereth sacrifice of the goods of the poor is as one that sacrificeth the son in the presence of his father. The riches, he saith, which he hath gathered unjustly will be vomited up from his belly. The angel of death draggeth him away. He will be tormented by the fury of dragons. The viper's tongue shall slay him; unquenchable fire devoureth him. And therefore, Woe to those who fill themselves with what is not their own. Or again, What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?*

9. It would be tedious to discuss or declare [their deeds] one by one, [and] to gather from the whole law testimonies concerning such greed. Avarice is a deadly sin: *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods. Thou shalt do no murder. A murderer cannot be with Christ. He that hateth his brother is reckoned as a murderer. Or, again, He that loveth not his brother abideth in death.* How much more guilty is he that hath stained his hands with the blood of the sons of God whom he recently purchased in the ends of the earth through the exhortations of my littleness.

10. Did I come to Ireland without God, or according to the flesh? Who compelled me—I am bound in the spirit—not to see any one of my kinsfolk? Is it from me that springs that godly compassion which I exercise towards that nation who once took me captive and harried

the menservants and maidservants of my father's house? I was freeborn according to the flesh. I am born of a father who was a decurion, but I sold my noble rank, I blush not to state it, nor am I sorry, for the profit of others. In short, I am a slave in Christ to a foreign nation on account of the unspeakable glory of the *eternal life which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.*

11. And if my own know me not, *a prophet hath no honour in his own country.* Perchance we are not of *one and the same fold* nor have *one God and Father.* As He saith: *He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad.* It is not meet that *one pulleth down and another buildeth up.* *I seek not mine own.*

It was not my own grace but God that *put this earnest care into my heart,* that I should be one of the *hunters or fishers* whom long ago God foretold would come *in the last days.*

12. Men look askance at me. What shall I do, O Lord? I am exceedingly despised. Lo, around me are Thy sheep torn to pieces and spoiled, and that too by the robbers aforesaid, by the orders of Coroticus with hostile intent. Far from the love of God is he who betrays Christians into the hands of the Scots and Picts. *Ravening wolves* have swallowed up the flock of the Lord, which verily in Ireland was growing up excellently with the greatest care. And the sons of Scots and the daughters of chieftains who were monks and virgins of Christ I am unable to reckon. Wherefore, *Be not pleased with the wrong done by the unjust; even unto hell it shall not please thee.*

13. Which of the saints would not shudder to jest or feast with such men? They have filled their houses with the spoil of dead Christians. They live by plunder. Wretched men, they know not that it is poison, they offer the deadly food to their friends and sons: just as Eve did not understand that verily it was death that she handed to her husband. So are all they who do wrong. They *work death eternal* as their punishment.

14. The custom of the Roman Christian Gauls is this:—They send holy and fit men to the Franks and other heathen with many thousands of solidi to redeem baptized captives. Thou slayest as many and sellest them to a foreign nation that knows not God. Thou deliverest *the members of Christ* as it were to a brothel. What

manner of hope in God hast thou, or whoso consents with thee, or who holds converse with thee in words of flattery? God will judge; for it is written, *Not only those who commit evil, but those that consent with them, shall be damned.*

15. I know not *what I should say, or what I should speak* further about the departed ones of the sons of God, whom the sword has touched sharply *above measure*. For it is written: *Weep with them that weep*, and, again, *If one member suffer, let all the members suffer with it*. The Church, therefore, bewails and will lament her sons and daughters whom the sword has not as yet slain, but who are banished and carried off to distant lands where sin openly oppresses, and shamelessly abounds. There freemen are put up for sale, Christians are reduced to slavery, and, worst of all, to most shameful, most vile, and apostate Picts.

16. Therefore, in sadness and grief shall I cry aloud. O most lovely and beloved brethren, and sons whom I begot in Christ, I cannot reckon them, what shall I do for you? I am not worthy to come to the aid of either God or men. *The wickedness of the wicked hath prevailed against us. We are become as it were strangers*. Perchance they do not believe that we received *one baptism*, or that we have *one God and Father*. It is in their eyes a shameful thing that we were born in Ireland. As He saith, *Have ye not one God? Why do ye, each one, forsake his neighbour?*

17. Therefore I grieve for you, I grieve, O ye most dear to me. But again, I rejoice within myself. *I have not laboured for nought*, and my journey to a strange land was not *in vain*. And yet, there happened a crime so horrid and unspeakable! Thank God, it was as baptized believers that ye departed from the world to paradise. I can see you. Ye have begun to remove to where *there shall be no night nor sorrow nor death any more*, but *ye shall leap like calves loosened from their bonds, and ye shall tread down the wicked, and they shall be ashes under your feet*.

18. Ye therefore shall reign with apostles, and prophets, and martyrs. Ye shall take everlasting kingdoms, as He Himself witnesseth, saying: *They shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven. Without are dogs and sorcerers and murderers; and liars and false swearers shall have their part in the lake of everlasting fire. Doth not*

the apostle rightly say : *Where the righteous shall scarcely be saved, where shall the sinner and the ungodly transgressor of the law recognize himself?*

19. Wherefore then, where shall Coroticus with his guilty followers, rebels against Christ, where shall they see themselves—they who distribute baptized damsels as rewards, and that for the sake of a miserable temporal kingdom, which verily passes away in a moment like a cloud or *smoke which is verily dispersed by the wind?* So shall the deceitful *wicked perish at the presence of the Lord, but let the righteous feast in great constancy with Christ.* They shall judge nations, and shall have dominion over ungodly kings for ever and ever. Amen.

20. *I testify before God and His angels* that it will be so as He has signified to my unskilfulness. The words are not mine, but of God and the apostles and prophets, who have never lied, which I have set forth in Latin. *He that believeth shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned.* For God hath spoken.

21. I beseech earnestly that whatever servant of God be ready that he be the bearer of this letter, so that on no account it be suppressed by anyone, but much rather be read in the presence of all the people, yea, in the presence of Coroticus himself, if so be that God may inspire them to amend their lives to God some time, so that even though late they may repent of their impious doings (murderer as he is in regard of the brethren of the Lord!), and may liberate the baptized women captives whom they had taken, so that they may deserve to live to God, and be made whole, here and in eternity.

Peace to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. Amen.

NOTES ON THE TEXT.

Title.—Although the titles *Confessio* and *Epistola* are here applied to these two little works respectively, in accordance with established usage, yet it is probable that they were originally known as *Libri Sancti Patricii Episcopi*, the title we find in A. This is supported by the colophon of the Confession in CF₃F₄, *Explicit liber i, Incipit liber ii*, and by the Vitae, which refer to them as *Libri*, or *Liber Epistolarum* (so Vitae iii. 11; iv. 1; Trip. pp. 10, 18), or *Libri* or *Liber Episcopi* (so Vitae ii. 4, 11; iii. 4). The special name *Confessio* found in the titles of *Liber i*. in CF₃F₄ is one of the many indications of the affinity of those three mss. It is possible that the scribe of B, in using the term *Uita Beati Patricii*, was influenced by Vita iv. 16, in which § 16 of this edition is cited as *in libro quem de uita et conuersatione sua ipse composuit*.

P. 235, l. 2.—*Patricius*.—According to Muirchu (B), cap. 1, he was also named Sochet: “*Patricius qui et Sochet uocabatur*.” So the Hymn of St. Fiacc, “*Sucat his name [it] was said*.” This was “his name from his parents” (Vit. Trip., p. 17). A note on St. Fiacc’s Hymn, quoted *Vit. Trip.*, p. 413, explains *Sucat* as, *Deus belli, uel Fortis belli*. Tírechán assigns him four names: “*Inueni iiii nomina in libro scripta Patricio apud Ultanum episcopum Conchuburnensium: Sanctus Magonus, qui est clarus, Succetus qui est... Patricius... Cothirthiacus quia seruiuit uii [iu] domibus magorum. Et empsit illum unus ex eis cui nomen erat Miliuc maccu-Boin magus, et seruiuit illi uii annis*.” The Tripartite Life (p. 17) adds to this that Patrick received the name Magonius from Saint Germanus, and that of “*Patricius, that is, pater ciuium*, from Pope Celestine.” So too the Preface to the Hymn of St. Sechnall. It is possible that the name *Patricius* is indicative of *curialis* rank.

P. 235, l. 2.—*Peccator* is a self-depreciatory epithet of *Patricius*. Cf. “*Patricius peccator indoctus scilicet*,” Conf. 62, Ep. 1. Compare *Dionysius Exiguus*.

P. 235, l. 2.—*Rusticissimus*.—Cf. §§ 11, 12, 46.

P. 235, l. 3.—*Contemptibilis sum*.—In A the words *apud plurimos* close a paragraph which is followed by a space, such as is that between the last words of the Confession and the appended note. This is a strong argument in favour of the reading *contemptibilis sum*. On the other hand, the superlative is most in accordance with Patrick’s hyper-

bolical style; and it is not natural to take *apud plur.* in connection with *rust. et min.* He was *rusticissimus et minimus omn. fid.* in his own estimation, *contemptibilissimus* in that of others.

P. 235, l. 4.—*Calpornum diaconum*, &c.—According to Ep. 10, Patrick's father was a decurio in his native village, as well as a deacon of the church: "Ingenuus fui secundum carnem, decorione patre nascor." Muirchu (B), cap. 1, repeats the statement of the Confession as to the ecclesiastical rank of Calpornus ("Cualfarni diaconi ortus") and Potitus; Marianus Scotus, in his Chronicle, Ann. 372, reverses it: "Presbyter fuit ipse Calpurn, filius diaconi nomine Fotid." Similarly Vit. Trip., p. 9; while the Hymn of St. Fiacc suppresses the fact that Patrick's father and grandfather were both in Holy Orders: "Son of Calpurn, son of Otide, grandson of deacon Odisse." The same pedigree is also found in the Leabhar Breac twice, and in the Book of Leinster.

If Odissus were a deacon, this would be a sufficient objection to the insertion of the words *fili Odissi* (A^{ms.}) after *Potiti*, since *presbyteri* would naturally be taken with *Odissi*, not with the remoter antecedent. The Preface (B) to the Hymn of St. Sechnall agrees with Marianus Scotus in the statement that Potitus was a deacon, not a presbyter. The words are: "As to Patrick, his origin was of the Britons of Hercluaide: Calpurn was his father's name; Fotaid his grandfather's, who was a deacon; Conchess, further, was his mother; Lupait and Tigris were his two sisters."

Patrick's mother's name is also given by Muirchu (B), cap. 1: "matre etiam conceptus Concesso nomine," and the Vita iv. 1, which quotes as if from the Confessio: "Ipse testatur lib. Epist., *Ego sum Patricius Kalfurnii filius matrem habens Conchessam.*" Marianus Scotus adds, l. c., that she was sister to St. Martin of Tours. "She was a kinswoman of Martin's." (Vit. Trip., p. 9.)

The reading of R, *Calpurnium diaconem quondam*, is intended to suggest that Calpurnius had renounced his orders before his marriage. Jocelin, on the other hand (Vita vi. 1), represents his ordination as having taken place after the birth of his children.

P. 235, l. 4. *Filium quendam*.—"A son." The reading *quondam*, "Son of the late Potitus," is pointless.

P. 235, l. 5.—*Qui fuit uico* is also the reading of Muirchu (B), cap. 1.

P. 235, l. 5.—*Bannauem Taberniae*.—The most ancient comment on this name is that given by Muirchu (B), cap. 1, "Bannauem thaburindec haut procul a mari nostro, quem uicum constanter indubitanterque

comperimus esse Uentre." This last clause is quoted by Probus, (Vita v. 1), with the change of *Uentre* into *Neutriae provinciae*. Muirchu has previously stated that Patrick was "in Britannis natus." It is not unreasonable to suppose that Muirchu's *Uentre* is another form or a corruption of the name *Nemthur*, which is stated to have been Patrick's birthplace in the Hymn of St. Fiacc: "Patrick was born in Nemthur; this is what is narrated in stories."

A note on this opening line of the hymn explains *Nemthur* as "a city which is among Britons of the North, viz. Ail-clúade"; and with this agrees the Preface (B) to the Hymn of St. Sechnall, quoted above, "As to Patrick, his origin was of the Britons of Her-cluaide." Ail-cluáde, or Her-cluaide, is Dumbarton on the Clyde. Hogan (*Analect. Boll.* i., p. 549), following Ussher (*op. cit.*, p. 819), identifies Bannauem with Killpatrick, near Dumbarton. Todd (*St. Patrick*, p. 357) quotes Lanigan as having suggested that Bonauem, as they spell it, might, as a Celtic word, be possibly translated *river's mouth*. There is a full discussion of the subject in an article by Bishop P. F. Moran in *The Dublin Review*, April, 1880. See also *Irish Liber Hymnorum*, ii., p. 176.

It is right to mention that Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson published in *The Academy* of 11th May, 1895, a very ingenious conjecture that *bannauem Taberniae* (last word written *tabnie* in F₃) is a mistake for *bannauetabñriae*, i.e., *Bannauenta Britanniae*, which he identifies with Borough Hill, near Daventry in Northamptonshire. Similarly F. Haverfield in *Eng. Hist. Review*, Oct. 1895. Daventry is in the very centre of England; and this certainly does not agree with Muirchu's description of *Uentre* as "haut procul a mari nostro." It is, perhaps, worth noting too that the intense dislike which Patrick displays towards the Picts ("præsertim indignissimorum pessimorum apostatarumque Pictorum," Ep. §§ 2, 15) is most naturally accounted for if we suppose him to have lived near them. Besides, he would have written *Britanniarum*.

P. 235, l. 6. *Capturam dedi*.—This peculiar phrase occurs again, Conf. §§ 10, 21. B has the emendation *didici* here and in § 10. Denis has the following note on his own reading, in *capturam decidi*: "Ita haec verba citat auctor Vitae iv. apud Colganum: ecgraphum nostrum habebat *capt. dedi*: Usserus, pag. 832, *capt. didici*." A reference to Ussher's work, *Brit. Eccles. Ant.*, l.c., shows that Denis has here made a slip. Ussher gives the reading *dedi*. It is possible that Patrick coined the phrase on the analogy of Ps. lxxvii. 18, "Cepisti captiuitatem."

P. 235, l. 7. *Annorum—xvi*.—The reading of R, *quindecim*, is

intended to suggest that Patrick's captivity immediately followed the sin committed, as he tells us (§ 27), at the age of fifteen.

P. 235, l. 8. *Hæberione*.—This form occurs also in Conf. 16, 23, 28, 41, 62; Ep. 1, 5, 10, 12; *Hiberia*, Ep. 16; *Vox Hyberionacum*, Conf. 23; *Ad Hibernas gentes*, Conf. 37.

P. 235, l. 8. *Tot milia hominum* occurs again, Conf. 14, 50; cf. Ep. 14, "Cum tot milia solidorum."

P. 235, ll. 11, 12. *Iram animationis suae*.—The emendation *indignationis* in B is intended to bring the quotation into exact agreement with the text of Ps. lxxvii. 49. But the words really are cited from Isaiah xlii. 25.

P. 235, l. 13. *Paruitas mea*.—There are several such periphrases for *ego* in these tracts, e.g., "Paruitas nostra," Ep. 9; "Incredulitas mea," Conf. 2; "Ignorantia mea," Conf. 2, 62 ("Mea ign."); "Mea gratia," Conf. 37, Ep. 11; "Insipientia mea," Conf. 46; "Neglegentia mea," Conf. 46; "Modicitas mea," Conf. 50; "Imperitia mea," Ep. 20.

P. 235, l. 14. *Aperuit sensum incredulitatis meae*.—*Incredulitas mea* is best taken as a periphrasis for *ego*. The insertion of the words *cordis mei* is consequently not necessary to complete the sense. It was possibly due to a desire to see a reference to Jer. iv. 19, "Sensus cordis mei," and Heb. iii. 12, "Cor malignum incredulitatis." The phrase *adoliscentiae ignorantiae meae* just below was similarly a stumbling-block to later copyists. Note that B differs from the others in its method of getting over it.

P. 236, l. 2.—*Consulatus = consolatus*, as always in A. It is therefore better to read *me* than *mei*, in order to avoid misunderstanding.

P. 236, ll. 5, 6. *Ut . . . exaltare*.—*Ut* is followed by an infinitive also in Conf. 14, "Ut . . . relinquere," and Conf. 43, "Ut . . . uisitare."

P. 236, l. 10. *Omnia tenentem*.—*Omnitenens* is found in Tertullian and St. Augustine as the rendering of παντοκράτωρ, Almighty.

P. 236, l. 18.—CF₃F₄ punctuate: *ipsius*. *Mox futurum*, &c.

P. 237, l. 10.—*In die illa*.—*Dies* (sing.) is feminine also in Conf. 16, 18 (only read in A), 19 (bis in rell.) 27, 33 (CF₃F₄), 42, 52, 59. Ep. 3. It is masc. in Conf. 19 (A), 26, 29, 33 (Boll.) 52.

P. 237, l. 14. *Ne incederem in linguam hominum*.—*Inciderem = inciderem*, as R writes it. Todd (*St. Patrick*, p. 311) renders the phrase, "I was afraid of falling upon the language of men [i.e. I was afraid of attempting to write in the language of the civilized world]"; and W. Stokes (*Vit. Trip.*, p. 359) explains it, "I feared offending against [doing violence to] the language of men." Both these explanations seem rather forced. It means rather, as Ferguson renders it, "I

feared Lest I should fall in censure of men's tongues." The phrase is possibly modelled on 2 Sam. xxiv. 14, "Melius est ut incidam in manus Domini . . . quam in manus hominum." Dr. Gwynn compares :

"On evil days though fall'n, and evil tongues."—*Par. Lost*, vii. 26.

P. 237, ll. 15, 16. *Qui optime—combiberunt*.—Prof. Bury "suspects that *itaque* has got out of its place, and should precede *dedici*: *itaque—sicut*, as in p. 238, l. 6. But if the text is sound, p. 239, l. 14, should be compared, where it seems to have somewhat the force of the German 'also.'" The sense is well given by Sir Samuel Ferguson:—

"Who, excellently versed in civic law,
And sacred letters, in a like degree."

Iura is a necessary emendation: see § 13, "legis periti."

P. 237, l. 17. *Sermo et loquela*, in S. John viii. 43, are the translation respectively of λόγος and λαλιά; but it is not likely that the distinction in meaning of the two words was present to Patrick's mind.

P. 237, l. 18. *In linguam alienam*.—It is not clear whether he means Latin or Irish. The latter is probable from the fact that he speaks (Conf. 1) of the Irish as *alienigenae*.

P. 237, l. 19. *Saliua*.—Ferguson, "By the savour of the style I use." Cf. Aug., *Opp.*, tom. 3, p. 395, a. 1., "Et ab altera, ut credo, saliua oris eius uicem laborem causam suscepi."

P. 237, l. 26. *Quod ante prae-fatus sum*.—Viz., concerning the early age at which his education was interrupted. He proceeds now to repeat the fact with emphasis.

P. 238, l. 1. *In uerbis*.—The substitution of *u* for *b* is common in mss.; and it has been very generally thought that the true reading here is *imberbis* or *inberbis* (so Ware). However, *in uerbis* gives a good sense, whether we connect *puer in uerbis*, 'a boy in language,' or, as in B, *in uerbis capt. dedi*, 'I went into bondage in language as well as limb.'

P. 238, l. 4. *Non desertus*.—This is practically the conjecture of W. Stokes, who reads *disertus*. It is to be noted, however, that in A *desertus* = 'learned' (see l. 11 "etsi non deserta"), but *disertum* = 'a desert': e.g. §§ 19, 22, "Per disertum iter fecimus"; *desertus* is also nearer in form to *deeritis* (A).

P. 238, l. 4. *Sermonem*.—So present editor. The contraction bar which denotes *m* or *n* is easily forgotten by a scribe, or obliterated.

P. 238, l. 5. *Spiritus . . . adfectus*.—*Adfectus* in the sphere of the human corresponds to *Spiritus* in the sphere of the divine.

P. 238, l.⁸. *Aliquantos*.—I.e. the *aliquanti seniores* of §§ 26, 37.

P. 238, l. 10. *Adpetere debemus* refers to § 10, “Adpeto in senectute mea,” &c.

P. 238, l. 12. *Ratum fortissimum*.—*Ratum* occurs in Ducange (*Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*) in the sense *deliberatum, constitutum*. *Fortissimum* is possibly an echo of 2 Cor. x. 10, “Epistolae iniquiunt graues sunt et fortes.” It is also possible that *ratum* may be a trace of an original reading, *ministratum* or *ministrata*. This word occurs in 2 Cor. iii. 3, which is quoted in the context.

P. 238, l. 15. *Unde ego*, &c.—The sentence is incomplete; *nescio* suggested *scio*. For *primus*, Prof. Bury conjectures *imus*.

P. 238, l. 24. *Dominicati*.—The term *domni* (CF₃F₄) was applied to Church dignitaries. *Dominicatus* is the adj. of *dominicum*, ‘a demesne’: “Lords of the land” (Ferguson). Ducange does not give any instance of the word as applied to persons. Prof. Bury says, “It is simply *domini cati*, ‘clever, or smart, sirs.’” *Domini ignari* is a plausible reading, suggesting that Patrick had two classes of scoffers in view: those who were religious, and those who were not.

P. 238, l. 26. *Detestabilem huius mundi*.—“The butt of this world’s scorn” (Ferguson).

P. 239, l. 8. *Exagallias*.—This is almost certainly the same as *exagella*, which is thus explained by Ducange—“*Trutina, seu potius quota pars quae unicuique haeredum ex successione obuenit: legitima pars haeredis, cum aliis ueluti ad exagium seu trutinam exaequata*.” The word thus passes from the meaning of *balances* to that of *legacy*.

P. 239, l. 9. *Baptizauit tot milia hominum*.—The same claim is made in identical terms in § 50: cf. § 42, “*Nescimus numerum eorum*”; Ep. 2, “*Quos ego innumeros Deo genui*”; Ep. 12, 16, “*Enumerare nequeo*.”

P. 239, l. 11. *Concederet*.—Prof. Bury conjectures *concederet, et post*, &c.

P. 239, l. 12. *Quod ego*, &c.—*Quod* is constantly used by Patrick as an indeclinable relative; e.g. Conf. 20, “*Quod memor ero*”; 30, “*De mea opera quod dediceram*”; 32, “*Defensionem quod ego non interfui*” . . . “*Quod non eram dignus*”; Ep. 10, “*Misericordiam quod ago*”; 20, “*Uerba quod ego Latinum exposui*.”

P. 239, l. 14. *Sed*.—Ferguson explains *sed* here and in p. 241, l. 17, as equivalent to the Irish *acht* = *nisi*. He connects *sed deueneram* with the preceding words, “such grace As, till I came to Ireland, I nor knew Nor ever hoped.”

P. 239, l. 14. *Pecora pascebam*.—*Pecora* more naturally denotes *oues*

than *sues*. Tírechán, however, says positively "*Miliuc . . . porcarium possuit eum in montanis convallibus.*" And also Muirchu (A), ii., cap. 14, "*Aliquando sues custodiens perdidit eas, et anguelus ueniens ad eum sues indicauit illi.*"

P. 239, l. 23. *Ad patriam tuam*.—The addition in *rell., et terram* is evidently a corruption of *et iterum*. Muirchu gives the oracle as in A.

P. 239, l. 25. *Parata est*.—Tírechán adds: "*Surge et ambula.*"

P. 239, l. 25. *Habebat* = *il-y avait* (W. Stokes).

P. 240, l. 1. *Intermissi*.—This must mean 'I left'; but the usage is unparalleled. Ferguson notes that it is "as if the thought expressed in this singular use of *intermitto* had been conceived in some form of the Irish *etar-scairim*, that is, *inter separo*."

P. 240, l. 1. *Hominem*.—i.e. Miliucc (Muirchu, A). Tírechán gives the name as Miliuc maccu-Boin. Muirchu (B), cap. 1, speaks of Patrick as "*apud quendam gentilem immitemque regem in servitute detentus,*" and, "*deserto tiranno gentilique homine cum actibus suis.*"

P. 240, l. 1. *Sex annis*.—"more hebraico," Muirchu (B), cap. 1. Tírechán fixes the duration of Patrick's captivity as seven years.

P. 240, l. 2. *Ad bonum*.—Ferguson trans., "God, who shewed me well The way to go," and compares the Irish *go maith*. B transposes the clauses so as to make *bonum* = 'a good man.' In Boll. a further transposition takes place: "*In uirt. Dei qui uiam meam dir. ueni ad Benum.*" *Benum* is probably a misprint for *Bonum*, as Denis's note is "*Boandum Vitae scriptores uocant, Buuindam Ptolemaeus, Boyn hodiernae tabulae.*" Denis assumed then that Patrick embarked at the Boyne, following Vit. Trip., p. 22. There is no specification of place in the other Lives.

P. 240, l. 5.—*Haberem*. This reading is supported by the fact that in § 31 *habeo* is spelt *abeo* in A. The reading *ut haberem inde navigare* might be an example of the use of *habeo* found in Low Latin to express the future; e.g. *resurgere habent* = 'will rise again,' in the Athanasian Creed. Vita ii. 18 paraphrases: "*locutus est ut haberet nauigationem cum illis.*" On the other hand, Probus (Vita v. 4) thus explains the wrath of the shipmaster: "*Nauclerus uero cum locutus esset ad eum de mercede nauis, ille respondit se non habere.*"

P. 240, l. 13.—*Ex fide* = 'in good faith, sincerely, earnestly': cf. § 19, "*Conuertemini ex fide,*" and 23, "*Ex fide rogauerunt me.*"

P. 240, ll. 14, 15.—*Reppuli sugere mammellas eorum*.—As has been already pointed out (Introd., p. 214), the ms. variations in this passage constitute one of the most striking proofs that the six existing mss. fall into three groups. The reading *fugere* or *fugire* can be easily

explained from the great similarity of the letters *f* and *f*(*s*) in mss. *Amicitias* (CF₄) is a not very intelligent attempt to solve the difficulty by a reference to the context, "*Fac nobiscum amicitiam*," and *mammās* (BF₃R) is a natural substitution for the not very obvious diminutive *mammellas*.

We may, I think, dismiss the idea that there is any reference here to the Vulg. of Is. lx. 16, "*Suges lac gentium, et mamilla regum lactaberis*." Whatever may be the case with regard to the N. T., there are no traces of the Vulg. in Patrick's citations from the O. T.; and he quotes Isaiah five times. The LXX is *πλοῦτον βασιλέων φάγεσαι*, "*Divitias regum comedes*" (Hieron. in Esai.). Some plausibility is given to the reference by the transposition of clauses effected by Dr. W. Stokes, who places *quia gentes erant* immediately after *Dei*. The words of Isaiah convey a promise of an advantageous domination over the Gentiles. Here the context implies that *sugere mammellas* refers to some compliance with heathen customs, some form of ratification of friendship, which Patrick judged to be inconsistent with his "fear of God"; but that his hope of converting some of the heathen sailors to Christianity induced him to remain in their company. Prof. Bury takes a similar view. See his note on p. 321.

P. 240, l. 16. *Gentes* = 'heathen': cf. Conf. 34, 37, 48, Ep. 1, 14.

P. 240, l. 17.—*Obtinui*.—Ducange assigns to *obtinere* in Low Latin the meanings *occupare, vincere, superare*. It does not, of course, mean to 'remain' or 'stay,' but the context demands that sense to be assigned to the word here: "So I clave to them" (Ferguson).

P. 240, l. 18.—*Terram caepimus*.—Muirchu (B), cap. 1, says: "*Ad Britanias nauigauit*." This, Professor Bury considers a blunder due to a misunderstanding of the statement in § 23, "*Et iterum post paucos annos in Britannis eram*." (*Guardian*, Nov. 20, 1901.) But see Introd., p. 225.

P. 241, l. 6. *Refecti*.—The ellipse of *est* or *sunt* after the past participle is common in St. Patrick: cf. Ep. 3, "*Dum crudeliter trucidati atque mactati*."

P. 241, l. 6. *Canes eorum repleti sunt*.—The reading *carnes* (CF₄*) is due to some scribe who did not understand how the dogs came to be with the sailors. *Reuelati* (BF₃R) is plainly an emendation of *releuati* (CF₄), and means that the dogs that were left behind, having somehow obtained food, overtook their masters.

P. 241, l. 12. *Deo gratias* must be connected with what follows, as in Conf. 23, 42, Ep. 17. Vita ii. 19 represents the words as having been actually spoken by Patrick in reply to the heathen: "*Et dixit P., Deo gratias ago*." Muirchu (B), cap. 2, extends the abstinence of

Patrick from the honey to abstinence from all food, on the ground that it had been offered to idols: "Ille autem sanctus Patricius nichil gustans de his cibis, immolaticum enim erat, nec esuriens, nec sitiens, mansit illesus." In this he is followed by Vita iii. 16. *Deo gratias* is a favourite expression with St. Patrick. It occurs twice in the *Dicta Patricii*; cf. also Conf. 30, "Gratias ago ei"; 34, "Indefessam gratiam ago Deo meo"; "Deo gratias semper agere"; 46, "Sine cessatione Deo gratias agere"; and the story in Muirchu (A), cap. 23, of St. Patrick's constant repetition of *grazacham*, i.e. *Gratias agamus*.

P. 241, l. 16. *Nihil membrorum*, &c. The reference to this in Muirchu (B), cap. 2, is worth quoting: "Satanas . . . fingens saxa ingentia, et quasi comminuens iam membra; sed inuocato Helia bina uoce, ortus est ei sol," &c. The reading of Boll., *et omnium meorum membrorum uires abstulit*, is taken from Vita iv. as well as *saxum ingens* (so A) and *inuocarem*. Ferguson, explaining *sed* as equivalent to the Irish *acht* = *nisi*, renders it *but so much*.

"So that in all my limbs
Remained not but so much of power as brought
Into my mind the thought to cry, 'Helias.'"

However, *Sed unde mihi uenit . . . ut uocarem?* is exactly parallel to *Sed unde uenit illi . . . ut . . . me . . . dehonestaret?* § 32.

P. 241, l. 17. *Heliam*.—There can be no doubt that Patrick regarded his shouting of the name *Helias* as due to unconscious mental action, and that the name was chiefly associated in his mind on this occasion with the sun (*Helios*). Cf. the contrast between Christ, the true sun, and the sun which we see with the eye of sense, in § 60. On the other hand, the name *Helias* can only mean *Elijah*, and in this Muirchu and the Vitæ are right. Probus alone has, "Cum trinâ uoce invocasset Christum, solem uerum." Todd (*St. Patrick*, p. 371) endeavours to prove that what Patrick really did say was *Eli*, My God.

P. 242, l. 3. *Et iterum—capt. dedi*.—Whether we interpret this, with Ferguson, of a spiritual captivity, or of a second literal captivity, the words must be taken as a parenthesis, as Prof. Bury rightly points out (*Guardian*, Nov. 20, 1901); for the words *Ea nocte*, &c., continue the narrative. It seems best to suppose that Patrick's strange demeanour caused the sailors to treat him as a prisoner. The following sentences certainly prove that he considered himself as such. CF₃F₄ have a full stop after *et iterum*, as though a quotation from Scripture should follow, as in §§ 7 and 25.

P. 242, l. 3. *Ea nocte*.—The providential appearance of the herd of swine seems to be dated eighteen days after the landing. Patrick's captivity of two months began that night, and lasted a month and a half after the party reached their destination. The transposition in Boll. of §§ 21 and 22 was intended, no doubt, to place events in proper sequence of time.

Muirchu (B), cap. 3., places Patrick's second captivity "many years" after the incident of the sailors, "Et iterum post multos annos capturam ab alienigenis pertulit." Cap. 4 opens with, "Et iterum post paucos annos ut antea in patria sua propria apud parentes suos requievit." This, as Prof. Bury shows, is a blunder due to Patrick's parenthetical mention of it (*Guardian*, Nov. 20, 1901).

P. 242, ll. 6, 9. It should be noted that Muirchu read *sexagesimo die . . . decimo die . . . ad homines*." The reading *quarto decimo die* was probably due to the occurrence of the phrase in § 52.

P. 242, l. 9. *Peruenimus omnes*.—The reading of CF₄, *ad homines* is tempting, but must be rejected in conformity with the principles which we have accepted. When the words occur for the second time, l. 11, the evidence (A Boll. F₃ R) for *omnes* is overwhelming, and practically determines the reading in the first occurrence also. There F₃ is defective; and it is uncertain whether *ad* was in R or not, owing to the dilapidated condition of the MS.; and, as A Boll. omit *ad*, we must suppose *homines* of Boll. R to be a blunder for *omnes*. At the same time it must be confessed that *ad homines* gives a better sense.

P. 242, l. 12. *Britannis*.—Todd (*St. Patrick*, p. 356, note 2) observes that "the plural number denotes the Roman Britanniae or provinces of Great Britain," i.e., Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Maxima Caesariensis, Flavia Caesariensis, and Valentia. Ferguson renders, "Amongst the Britons, as in the Irish gloss on Fiacc, *in bretnairb*." Patrick also uses the plural *Gallias*, p. 248, l. 25. Note the variations in spelling here of the mss., and that *Brittanniis* is the form in §§ 32, 43.

P. 242, l. 14. *Nusquam*.—Muirchu (B), cap. 4, reads *numquam* with *rell*.

P. 242, l. 16. *Uidi in visu noctis* occurs again in § 29. This justifies us in regarding the reading of A here, *in sinu noctis*, as a blunder. According to Muirchu (B), cap. 4, Patrick at the time of these visions was thirty years old. Prof. Bury (*Guardian*, Nov. 20, 1901) points out that this is a blunder based on a misunderstanding of § 27, "Post annos triginta." Muirchu (B), capp. 4, 5, 6, interposes a visit to Rome, and a long stay with Germanus in Gaul, between certain

'multae uisiones' in Britain, and the voice from the wood of Fochlut. See note on p. 248, l. 25.

P. 242, l. 17. *Victoricus*.—Prof. Bury remarks (l.c.) :—"It is certain that long before he [Muirchu] wrote, the human Victoricus of the Confession had been glorified by popular imagination into the guardian angel Victoricus or Victor, who watched over Patrick, and took a special interest in Ireland." In Muirchu (B), cap. 1, we read : "Post frequentias angelici Uictorici a Deo ad illum missi." Again, cap. 6—"Ille antiquus ualde fidelis Uictoricus nomine, qui omnia (B) sibi in Hibernica seruitute posito antequam essent dixerat, eum crebris uissionibus uissitauit." (A). Again, Lib. ii. (A), cap. 3 : Uictor erat angelus qui Pat. saepe uissitare solebat.

P. 242, l. 20. *Uocem*.—Muirchu (A), cap. 6, gives the words as "Uocant te filii et filiae siluae Foclitae." We read in Tírechán, fol. 11, r°, a, "Filiorum clamantium clamore magno uoces audiuit in utero matrum suarum dicentium, Ueni sancte Patrici, saluos nos facere." Similarly the third antiphon appended to the Hymn of St. Sechnall :—

"Hibernenses omnes clamant ad te pueri
Ueni sancte Patrici saluos nos facere."

According to Vita iii. 20 (Colgan's ed.), the words were, *hoch, aillilo, fortaich*, explained by Colgan thus—"Heu, accede huc, fer auxilium." They really are a corruption of *ochaillib Fochla* (Bury, *Trans. R.I.A.* xxxii., sec. c., p. 209) : cf. Vit. iv. 70, vi. 21. Muirchu (A), cap. 6, places this incident in Gaul—a plain contradiction to the Confession. Prof. Bury (*Guardian*, Nov. 27, 1901) suggests that both Muirchu and the Hymn of St. Fiacc (l. 16) followed in this and other matters early *Acta* of St. Patrick.

P. 242, l. 21. *Focluti*.—Not to mention the corruptions of the other mss. of the Confession, this name is given in Vita ii. 21, as *Fochluc* ; in Vita iv. 25, as *Fochluig* ; and in Vit. Trip., p. 32, as *ó chaillid Fóchlad*. Ussher's note (*Brit. Eccles. Ant.*, p. 832) is as follows :—"Est autem nominatus ille locus apud Maionenses in Connaciâ ; Tírechano *Sylua Fochloth* vel *Fochlithi*, Fiecho Slebthiensi *Ciaille Fóchlad* dictus." This wood included the townlands of Crosspatrick and Donaghmore in the parish of Killala, in the barony of Tirawley, County Mayo. (O'Donovan, *Genealogies, &c., of Hy-Fiachrach*, Dublin, 1844, p. 463, note.)

P. 243, l. 2. *Expertus*.—This word occurs three times within a few lines. It has been altered to *expergefactus* in the later mss. in §§ 23,

24, but left unchanged in § 25, possibly because in this last place it was supposed to come from *experior*. Ducange quotes *expergo* in the sense of *expergefacio* from Nonnus, "Expergite pectora tarda." *Expertus* is most likely a provincial or vulgar pronunciation of *experrectus* or *expergitus*. Dr. Gwynn has called my attention to the fact that twice over A shortens *exper[rec]tus*, and lengthens *eff[ici]atus*, each by three letters. He suggests that possibly the exemplar had *expertus*. . . . *effatus*, with *rec* in the margin, meant to be inserted in *expertus*, and that an ignorant scribe mistook it for a correction of *effatus*, and finally blundered into *efficiatus*.

P. 243, l. 2. *Deo gratias*.—CF₃F₄ connect these words with the preceding clause. See note on p. 241, l. 12.

P. 243, l. 5. The insertion in Boll. after *peritissimis* is taken from Vita iv. 17, the only variation being *spiritibus* for *spiritu*. It also occurs in almost identically the same words in Vita ii. 13, and Trip., p. 18. The Vitæ, however, say that Patrick heard these voices while a captive in Ireland. Prof. Bury thinks that *orabat* has fallen out after *peritissimis*.

P. 243, l. 6. *Effatus*.—A reads *efficiatus* here and in l. 12. In this place all the later copyists understood the meaning to be *affatus*; but in l. 12 F₃ and R seem to have taken it from *efficio* in the sense 'transform.' So Ferguson, "He showed, a bishop." As I have not been able to find any example in Ducange of *efficiatus* as = *affatus* or *effatus*, and as the same sense is evidently intended in both places, it seems better to read *effatus* in both; it occurs again § 33. Dr. Gwynn suggests as barely possible that Patrick coined the word *efficior* as the opposite of *inficior*, and thus = 'to affirm.'

P. 243, l. 12. *Effatus est ut sit Spiritus*.—The context proves that *Spiritus* is the correct reading here, although B, if we may trust Denis, is the only ms. that gives it, not counting F₄ corr. *Episcopus* is written almost fully in A; it is contracted *ēps* in the other mss. (*ēps* = *spiritus*). Ferguson explains it of "the internal presence of the great bishop of souls."

P. 243, l. 18. *Uenerunt et*.—The fact that R reads *et* makes it likely that *ob* in Boll. is a conjecture by Denis. He would connect *uenerunt contra*. In the text, as it stands, the sentence is broken off owing to the writer's emotion.

P. 243, l. 21. *Conculcatione*. The noun occurs in Is. v. 5, xxii. 5, xxviii. 18; the verb in Pss. lvi. 1, 2; lvii. 3.

P. 243, l. 24. *Occasionem*.—The end of § 26 and beginning of § 27 read thus in CF₃F₄R: *reputetur occasionum*. *Post*, &c. The passage is

evidently corrupt, and the only question is, What emendation will least disturb the text? The reading of Boll., *reputetur occasio*. *Nam post . . . inuen. me, adu.*, is most likely a conjecture of Denis's, but a very plausible one. *Occasio* might be rendered 'unfair attack.' Ducange notes that it has the meaning *lis iniuste intentata*, as well as those of *damnatio*, *periculum*, *discrimen*. The word occurs in some such sense in § 55; and *num* is written for *nam* in § 25 in CF₃F₄.

On the other hand, *inuenerunt me*, 'they found me,' is meaningless, unless we suppose that Patrick was hiding. If we could be sure that here Boll. = B, we might venture upon a transposition of the words, as Dr. Gwynn has suggested to me, and read *inuenerunt adu. me uerbum*: cf. Acts xxiv. 20, "Dicant si quid inuenerunt in me iniquitatis." But the fact that R here agrees with CF₃F₄ renders it almost certain that B did so too; and the conjecture *occasionem* only involves the omission of *me* (Boll. om. *et*), and gives a more satisfactory close to § 26, and is commended by the allusion to Dan. vi. 5.

P. 244, l. 12. *Memoratis supradictis*.—This refers to the *Seniores* of § 26. For *supradictus* cf. Ep. 3.

P. 244, l. 15. *Male uidimus*, &c.—The reading of A, *audiuimus*, is clearly proved to be wrong by the following line. *Nudato nomine* is explained by the preceding *sine honore*; and, as the *responsum diuinum* is contrasted with the *scriptum*—the human impeachment—it seems best to refer *designati* to Patrick himself. But it cannot mean 'bishop designate,' since he was already a bishop, see p. 243, l. 18. We may suppose that the *scriptum* was an accusatory document in which Patrick was *designatus* by name merely, his episcopal rank and title being ignored. Or, since *faciem* in l. 13 is employed in a different sense from that which it has in l. 15, and as l. 26 proves that the *responsum* was especially directed against Patrick's false friend, we may take *designatus* as = *memoratus* (l. 12) and *nudato nomine* as meaning that his name, suppressed by Patrick, was laid bare, plainly expressed, in the *responsum*, so that what Patrick heard was, *Male uidimus faciem Germani*, supposing that had been the name.

Ferguson seems to take *designati* as nom. pl. agreeing with *nos* (understood), and conjectures *Male audiuius [scripto contra] faciem des.*, &c., and notes that "*contra faciem* is perhaps the Irish *in agaid 'aduersum.'*" He renders, "I saw a script against me, and no name Of honor written, . . . We are here Ill-styled by name stripped bare of dignity."

P. 244, l. 20. *Dediceram*.—In accordance with the system of spell-

ing adopted in this edition (see Appendix), it seems best to follow the use of A, in which *dedici* occurs in § 9.

P. 244, l. 28. *Defensionem*.—Denis explains this as 'inhibition,' and so Ferguson; but there seems to be a clear reference to 2 Tim. iv. 16, which is confirmed by the allusion to the same text at the end of § 26, "Non illis reputetur."

P. 245, l. 5. *Quod . . . indulserat*.—This refers to the conferring on Patrick of the dignity of the episcopate. See l. 2, "Ecce dandus es," &c. *Indulgeo* is used in a similar connexion in Ep. 6.

P. 245, l. 11. *Audenter rursus*.—sc. *dico*: see § 31.

P. 245, l. 11. *Sed scit Deus*, &c.—In this sentence the emphasis must be laid on *homo* as contrasted with *Deus* understood. *Hoc* refers to the *responsum divinum* of §§ 29, 32. 'If a mere man had thus rebuked my old friend, I should not have revealed the fact.'

P. 245, l. 15. *Ut hostiam*.—*Hostiam uiuentem* is in apposition to *sacrificium*. The reading of Boll. would make a distinction between the two, suggesting an allusion to the Holy Eucharist in the word *sacrificium*.

P. 245, l. 18. *Aperuisti*.—The meaningless reading of CF₃F₄, *cooperuisti*, suggests the possibility of an original *aperuisti*.

P. 245, l. 28. *Usque*, &c.—Cf. § 51, "Usque ad exteras partes ubi nemo ultra erat."

P. 246, l. 6. *Idiotam*.—This conjecture implies a reference to Acts iv. 13, "Homines sine litteris et idiotae." *Ideo tamen* is meaningless, and very probably was omitted on that account by the scribe of B or by Denis.

P. 246, l. 17. *Aurem*.—Just as in the case of *expertus*, p. 243, ll. 2, 7, 12, it is probable that we have here an instance of provincial pronunciation, and an illustration of the transition of *audire* into the old French *ouïr*. See Brachet (*Dictionnaire Etymologique*).

P. 246, l. 19. *Ingenuitatem meam*.—Cf. Ep. 10, "Ingenuus fui secundum carnem," where also *pro utilitate aliorum* occurs in the immediate context.

P. 246, l. 20. *Animam meam*.—It is not necessary to supply [*ponam*], with Boll., after *libentissime*. The accusative depends on *darem* in the previous clause.

P. 246, l. 24. *Consummarentur*.—Cf. § 51, where *consummaret* (CF₃F₄) = *in fide confirmaret* (B): cf. Ep. 2, "Quos . . . in Christo confirmaui."

P. 247, l. 7. Muirchu (A), cap. 6, seems to allude to this section when he says:—"Uictoricus . . . eum . . . uisitauit dicens ei ades-

tempus ut ueniret et *aeuangelico rete* nationes feras et barbaras ad quas docendas misserat illum Deus, *ut piscaret.*" Similarly the Hymn of St. Sechnall, l. 13:—

"Dominus illum elegit ut doceret barbaras
Nationes ut piscaret per doctrinae retia."

Dr. Todd (*Vit. Trip.*, p. 272, note) thought that Muirchu copied St. Sechnall. But, as Professor Bury (*Guardian*, Nov. 20, 1901) observes, both may echo the language of the Confession.

P. 247, l. 11. *Retia nostra tendere*, followed as it is by *multitudo copiosa*, seems an echo of S. Luke v. 4. There is, however, no authority there for *tendere*. The verb is variously rendered: *laxate*, *mittite*, *summitte*, *expandite*.

P. 247, l. 13. *Indigentem et desiderantem* may very possibly be the rendering of the Biblical phrase, "the poor and needy," in some O. L. text; but I have not been able to trace it.

P. 248, l. 8. *Filii Scottorum et filiae regularum monachi et uirgines Christi* occurs again, Ep. 12. It is a rhetorical expression for *Filii et filiae reg. Scott.*

P. 248, l. 10. *Una benedicta*.—Villanueva thinks that this most probably refers to Ciunu, who was daughter of Echaid, or Echu, son of Crimthann. Her father desired to wed her to Cormac, son of Coirbre, son of Níall, but agreed to allow her to take the veil; and Patrick gave her into the charge of Cechtumbar, abbess of Druimm-Dubain (*Vit. Trip.*, p. 177).

Jocelin, cap. 79, says the incident took place "in regionem Neill," and gives the names as Cynnia, Echu, Cethuberis, Cruim-uchan.

Cechtumbar was, we are told, the first who took the veil at the hands of St. Patrick; and Villanueva says that possibly she is the *benedicta Scotta* of the Confession; or, again, that possibly St. Brigid is meant.

P. 248, l. 17. *De genere nostro* possibly means, 'of my begetting'; cf. Ep. 16 "Quos in Christo genui."

P. 248, l. 25. *Usque ad Gallias*.—Gaul being mentioned as the utmost limit of the writer's longings, would seem to imply that his travels had never extended further. Muirchu (B), cap. 4, certainly speaks of Patrick as "egressus ad sedem apostolicam uisitandam et honorandam," but only in the vaguest terms. When Muirchu wrote, it was inconceivable that Patrick should not have visited Rome. Similarly Tírechán, "Ambulauit et nauigauit . . . per Gallias atque

Italiam totam atque in insolis quae sunt in mari Terreno ut ipse dixit in commemoratione laborum." The reference is to one of the *Dicta Patricii*, "Timorem Dei habui ducem itineris mei per Gallias atque Italiam etiam in insolis... Terreno," and not to any lost work, *Commemoratio laborum*, by St. Patrick, as W. Stokes supposes (*Vit. Trip.*, p. xci).

P. 249, l. 13. *Rideat*, &c.—This refers to the jeers that were called forth by Patrick's *rusticitas*.

P. 249, l. 28. *Agnoui gratiam*.—Cf. Gal. ii. 9, "Cum cognouissent gratiam quae data est mihi"; and 1 Cor. iii. 10.

P. 250, l. 5. *Praestauī et praestabo* is modelled on 2 Cor. xi. 9, "Seruauī et seruabo."

P. 250, ll. 16, 17. *Infideles* . . . *incredulis*.—The latter word has the connotation of 'scoffing unbelief.' *Infideles* means simply 'heathen': Cf. § 37 'Ab incredulis contumelias perferre.'

P. 250, l. 20. *Scriptulae*.—*Scriptula* = *scriptulum* = *scrupulum*, the twenty-fourth part of an ounce, the smallest division of anything; possibly here used of the *screpall* or *sical*, an ancient Celtic silver coin weighing twenty-four grains (Joyce, *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, Lond., 1903, vol. ii., p. 381).

P. 251, l. 7. *Uos autem*, &c.—Tírechán (*Book of Armagh*, fol. 10^{vo}, b.) fixes this incident as taking place on Patrick's journey to the wood of Fochloth in the company of Endeus and his brothers: "Extendit [expendit] Patricius etiam praetium xu animarum hominum, ut in scripture sua adfirmat, de argento et auro, ut nullum malorum hominum inpederet eos in uia recta transeuntes totam Hiberniam." The judges implied in the reading of B, *qui iudicabant*, are by O'Connor thought to be the Brehon judges. It is right to note that the reading here of F₃F₄, as well as of C, is certainly *indicabant*. I have twice verified it myself by personal inspection of the MSS.; and an independent examination by a competent collator resident in Oxford has confirmed my reading. There is no allusion to judges of any sort in Tírechán.

P. 252, l. 2. *Elegit me*.—Cf. St. Sechnall's Hymn, l. 13, "Dominus illum elegit ut doceret barbaras Nationes," &c.

P. 252, l. 6. *Scrutatur*.—The reading of CF₃F₄, *scrutabor*, might be explained to mean that Patrick is conscious of his own integrity to such a degree that he will assume the divine function of searching out his heart.

P. 252, l. 11. *Testem*.—The reading of Boll. is less disturbing to the text than would be *testimonium*, which has occurred to me. Cf.

1 Tim. vi. 13, "[Jesus] qui testimonium reddidit sub Pontio Pilato," &c.

P. 252, l. 12. *Transitum*.—It is possible that this is a rendering of ἔξοδος, S. Luke ix. 31, 2 Pet. i. 15. The extant renderings in S. Luke are *excessum*, *exitum*, *consummationem*. The verse in 2 Pet. is quoted as in Vulg. in § 14, 'Post obitum meum.' Cf. S. John xiii. 1, 'Hora eius ut transeat ex hoc mundo.' The only O. L. MS. that contains the verse is *h*, which has *positis etiam corporibus*.

EPISTOLA.

As has been pointed out in the first note on the Confession, the original title of this composition was *Liber secundus S. Patricii*, or *Lib. sec. Epistolarum*. Ussher (*op. cit.*, p. 818) says: "De genere suo ita scribit ipse Pat. (si modo titulus non fallat) in epistola ad Coroticum tyrannum: *Ingenuus fui secundum carnem decorione patre nascor*," quoting from C.; and consequently, in Ware's ed., it is entitled *S. P. ad Coroticum Epistola*. Denis, in the Bollandist ed., has a long note pointing out that it was not sent to Coroticus personally; and he accordingly entitles it *Epistola S. Patricii ad Christianos Corotici tyranni subditos*. He informs us that it had no special title in his ms.

Coroticus himself, according to Todd (*St. Patrick*, p. 352), "is supposed to have been the Caredig, or Ceredig, son of Cynedda, who flourished in the fifth century, and who gave his name to the county of Cardigan, called by the Welsh, Caredigiawn." Ferguson, on the other hand (*op. cit.*, p. 116), asserts with some confidence that the title of Muirchu's 28th chapter, *De conflictu Sancti Patricii aduersum Coirthech regem Aloo*, proves that "in the seventh century, the Coroticus of Patrick's epistle was regarded as king of Ailclyde, the capital of the kingdom of the Strathclyde Britons," since "Alo-clotha is the form in which Ailclyde is presented in the older Irish Annals." This is proved almost to demonstration by W. F. Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 158, *n.*) and by Zimmer (*Celtic Church*, p. 54). This gives point to Ep. 2, "Non dico ciuibus meis." I subjoin Muirchu's chapter 28, as given by Hogan; the words in brackets are the readings of the ms.

"Quoddam mirabile [Quod ammirabile] gestum Patricii non transibo silentio. Huic nuntiatum est nequissimum opus cuiusdam regis britannici nomine *Corotic*, infausti crudelisque tyranni. Hic namque erat maximus persecutor interfectorque christianorum. Patricius

autem per epistolam ad uiam ueritatis reuocare temptauit: cuius salutaria deridebat monita. Cum autem ista [ita] nuntiarentur Patricio, orauit Dominum et dixit: *Deus, si fieri potest, expelle hunc perfidum de presenti seculoque futuro.* Non grande postea tempus effluxerat [effluxuat], et musicam artem audiuit a quodam cantare quod breui [om. breui] de solio regali transiret. Omnesque karissimi eius uiri in hanc proruperunt uocem. Tunc ille, cum esset in medio foro ilico uulpeculae [uel ficuli] miserabiliter arepta forma, profectus in suorum presentia, ex illo die illaque hora uelut fluxus aquae [quae] transiens nusquam conparuit."

Hogan notes that *uulpeculae* is the reading of Probus, and that for *et musicam*—*cantare* Probus has, *magicam artem a quodam sibi praecantari fecit, a quo audiuit.*

The interest for us in this legend lies in the fact that it proves Muirchu's knowledge of the existence of the Epistola. The story is repeated in four of the Lives. The name is given as *Coritic* in iii. 72; *Chairtic* in Probus ii. 27; *Cereticus* in Jocelin 150; and *Coirtech* in Trip., p. 248.

P. 254, l. 2. *Fateor*.—There is possibly a slight touch of irony in this passage: "I am only bishop to the despised Irish; consequently my lot is cast amongst barbarous heathens, i.e. the Scottic allies of Coroticus."

P. 254, l. 12. *Sanctorum Romanorum*.—The best comment on St. Patrick's use of *Romani* here and in § 14 is one of the *Dicta Patricii*, "Aeclessia Scotorum, immo Romanorum; ut Christiani ita ut Romani sitis." He is thinking more of the see of Rome than of the empire. It is probable that in his time the two conceptions were somewhat confused in men's minds.

P. 254, l. 13. *In morte uiuunt*.—Cf. 1 Tim. v. 6, "Uiuens mortua est."

P. 254, l. 14. *Pictorum apostatarum*.—The same epithet is applied to the Picts in § 15. St. Ninian, of Whitherne, is commonly said to have converted the southern Picts about the year 412. A.D. See Introd., p. 223.

P. 254, l. 16, *Crismati* is the past part. of *crismare*, 'to anoint.'

P. 254, l. 16. *Flagrabat*.—*Flagrare* = *fragrare* in Low Latin.

P. 254, l. 18. *Sancto presbytero*.—Ware conjectures that this may refer to Benignus, who, according to Tírechán, was St. Patrick's successor in the See of Armagh.

P. 254, l. 22. *Zabulus inlaqueauit*.—*Zabulus* is a Low Latin form of *diabolus*: cf. Hymn of St. Sechnall, l. 81 "Innumeros de Zabuli

absoluet dominio." Patrick here alludes to 1 Tim. iii. 7, vi. 9, "Laqueum diaboli."

P. 254, l. 23. *Mancipabunt*.—I had rendered this 'will possess hell,' as though *mancipare* = *manu capere*, i. e. 'take hold of.' Dr. Gwynn has suggested to me that it might be an ungrammatical expression for 'become slaves (*mancipia*) of hell.' This view is supported by *servus*, which follows.

P. 254, l. 1. *Quapropter*, &c.—Ferguson (*op. cit.*, p. 100) calls attention to the fact that Patrick here and in § 7 is exercising episcopal jurisdiction in placing Coroticus under the minor excommunication.

P. 255, l. 2. *Patricida*, &c.—The sing. here and in § 21 refers to Coroticus.

P. 255, l. 15. *Donec crudeliter*, &c.—Prof. Bury thinks that here "words have obviously fallen out, as *crudeliter* gives no sense. Comparing p. 254, l. 17, we must restore *pro crudeliter interfectis*, or *trucidatis*, or something of the kind."

P. 256, l. 12. *Decorione*.—A *decurio* or *curialis* was a member of the *Curia* of a town under the Roman Empire. "The *Curia* consisted of a certain number of the richest landowners who were responsible to the treasury for a definite sum, which it was their business to collect from all the proprietors in the district." (Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. i., p. 27). Gibbon, in his remarks on the Theodosian code, which was promulgated in A.D. 438, says: "The laborious offices, which could be productive only of envy and reproach, of expense and danger, were imposed on the *Decurions*, who formed the corporations of the cities, and whom the severity of the Imperial laws had condemned to sustain the burthens of civil society." (*Decline and Fall*, Ed. Bury, vol. ii., p. 192.)

P. 256, l. 14. *Genti exteræ*.—i. e. the Picts. This follows from a comparison of p. 257, l. 13, "Uendis illos genti exteræ," and l. 25, "Christiani in servitutem redacti sunt, praesertim . . . Pictorum."

P. 257, l. 7. *Sicut Eva non intellexit*.—Cf. Milton's "knew not eating death." *Par. Lost*, ix. 792.

P. 257, l. 10, *Romanorum Gall. Christ.* This means Gallic Christians in communion with Rome; and the apparently superfluous epithet *Romanorum* is added to emphasize the contrast between their conduct and that of Coroticus and his men, who were nominally *Romani* in this sense.

P. 257, l. 11. *Franco et caeteras gentes*.—The Franks, who are here spoken of as heathen, were converted *en masse* to Christianity with Clovis in 496 A.D.

P. 257, l. 12. *Omnes*.—The reading of $CF_3F_4^*$ *totius* suggests that *potius* may be the right word. This has also occurred to Prof. Bury, independently.

P. 258, l. 9. *Gratis*.—For this use of *gratis* cf. Gal. ii. 21, “*Gratis Christus mortuus est.*”

P. 258, l. 10. *Et contigit—ineffabile!*—Prof. Bury would read, *non fuit; etsi contigit—ineffabile.*

P. 258, l. 11. *De saculo—paradisum*.—This is one of the *Dicta Patricii*, “*De saec. requissistis ad paradisum.*”

LIST OF RECURRENT PHRASES

EXCLUSIVE OF SCRIPTURAL QUOTATIONS.

Patricius peccator, Conf. 1, 62, Ep. 1.

Patricius peccator indoctus scilicet, Conf. 62, Ep. 1.

Indoctus scilicet, Conf. 12, 62, Ep. 1.

Capturam dedi, Conf. 1, 10, 20.

Ut uel sero, Conf. 1, Ep. 21.

Tot milia hominum, Conf. 1, 14, 50.

Baptizaui tot milia hominum, Conf. 14, 50.

Hic et in aeternum, Conf. 12, 26, Ep. 21 : cf. Hic et in futurum, Conf. 30.

Si dignus fuero, Conf. 13, 37 : cf. Si dignus sum, Ep. 1.

Non eram dignus neque talis, Conf. 15, 55.

Amor Dei et timor ipsius, Conf. 15, 44.

Ex fide, Conf. 15, 19, 22.

Deo gratias, Conf. 19, 23, 42, Ep. 17.

Ubi nemo ultra est, Conf. 34, 51.

Non mea gratia sed Deus, Conf. 37, Ep. 11.

Pro utilitate aliorum, Conf. 37, Ep. 10.

Filii Scottorum et filiae regulorum monachi et uirgines Christi, Conf. 41, Ep. 12.

Adquisiuit in ultimis terrae, Conf. 58, Ep. 9.

Certissime reor, Conf. 59, Ep. 1.

Paratus eram, Conf. 43, 46, 57.

Enumerare nequeo, Ep. 12, 16.

NOTES ON THE BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF MSS.

- Sab. = *Biblorum Sacr. Latinae Versiones Antiquae*, ed. P. Sabatier, Paris, 1751. The Patristic citations are mainly taken from this work, and also the readings of Cod. Sangermanensis (Psalter) and of Codd. *c* (Gospp.) and *e* (Paul).
- Cod. Lugd. = Cod. Lugdunensis, Fragments of Hexateuch, ed. U. Robert, Paris, 1881.
- Cod. San- } = Cod. Sangermanensis, Psalter, ed. Sabatier.
germ. }
- Cod. Veron. = Cod. Veronensis, Psalter, ed. Bianchini, *Psalterium Duplex*, Rome, 1740.
- Moz. = Mozarabic Liturgy, for Psalter, ed. Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, Tom. 86.
- Heb. = *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi*, ed. Lagarde, Leipzig, 1874.
- Cod. Wirc. = Cod. Wireburgensis, Fragments of the Prophets, ed. E. Ranke, Vienna, 1871.
- m* = *Liber de diuinis Scripturis siue Speculum*, ed. F. Wehrich, Vienna, 1893.
- D = The Version (mixed Vulgate) of the New Testament contained in the Book of Armagh.

GOSPELS.

- a* = Cod. Vercellensis, ed. Bianchini, *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, Rome, 1749.
- b* = Cod. Veronensis, ed. Bianchini, *op. cit.*
- c* = Cod. Colbertinus, ed. Sabatier, *op. cit.*
- d* = Cod. Bezae, Facsimile ed. Cambridge, 1899.
- e* = Cod. Palatinus, ed. Tischendorf, Leipzig, 1847.
- f* = Cod. Brixianus, edd. Bianchini, *op. cit.*, and Wordsworth and White, *Vulgate*.
- ff*₁ = Cod. Corbeiensis (i), edd. Bianchini, *op. cit.*, Belsheim, Christiana, 1882.
- ff*₂ = Cod. Corbeiensis (ii), edd. Bianchini, *op. cit.* (collation), Belsheim, Christiana, 1887.
- g*₁ = Cod. Sangermanensis (i), ed. Wordsworth, *O. L. Bibl. Texts*, i., Oxford, 1883.
- g*₂ = Cod. Sangermanensis (ii).
- h* = Cod. Claromontanus, ed. Belsheim, Christiana, 1892.
- i* = Cod. Vindobonensis, ed. Belsheim, Leipzig, 1885.
- k* = Cod. Bobiensis, ed. Wordsworth and Sanday, *O. L. Bibl. Texts*, ii., Oxford, 1886.
- m* = vid. supra.
- n* }
o } = Fragmenta Sangallensia, ed. H. J. White, *O. L. Bibl. Texts*, ii., Oxford, 1886.
p }
- q* = Cod. Monacensis, ed. H. J. White, *O. L. Bibl. Texts*, iii., Oxford, 1888.

*r*₁, *r*₂ = Codd. Usseriani, ed. T. K. Abbott, Dublin, 1884.

aur. = Cod. Aureus, ed. Belsheim, Christiana, 1878.

δ = Cod. Sangallensis, the interlinear Latin of Cod. Δ, ed. J. Rendel Harris, Cambridge, 1891.

μ = The Book of Mulling, ed. H. J. Lawlor, Edinburgh, 1897.

ACTS.

d as in Gospels.

e = Cod. Laudianus, ed. Tischendorf, Leipzig, 1870.

g = Cod. Gigas Holmiensis, ed. Belsheim, Christiana, 1879.

m as in Gospels.

*p*₂ = Perpignan ms., ed. Berger, Paris, 1895. (Acts i. 1-xiii. 6; xxviii. 16-31.)

*g*₂, *h*, and *s* are not available for any of St. Patrick's citations from Acts.

CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

h = Palimpsest of Fleury, ed. Berger, Paris, 1889.

m as in Gospels.

PAUL.

d = Cod. Claromontanus, ed. Tischendorf, Leipzig, 1882.

e = Cod. Sangermanensis, ed. Sabatier, *op. cit.*

f = Cod. Angiensis, ed. Scrivener, Cambridge, 1859.

g = Cod. Boernerianus, ed. Matthaei, Misena, 1791.

gue = Cod. Guelferbytanus, ed. Tischendorf, *Anecdota Sacra*, Leipzig, 1855.

r = Freisingen Fragg., ed. Ziegler, *Italafragmente*, Marburg, 1876.

APOCALYPSE.

g as in Acts.

h as in Acts.

m as in Gospels.

CONFESSIO.

1. A Deo recessimus: Is. lix. 13, Rec. a Deo. nostro (Hieron. in Esai.), and passim.

Praecepta—custodiimus: cf. Gen. xxvi. 5, Exod. xx. 6 and passim.

Induxit—animationis suae: Is. xlii. 25, Superinduxit super eos iram an. suae. (Cypr. de Dom. Or. 25, de Lapsis 21.)

Dispersit—gentibus: cf. Jer. ix. 16. But none of the passages of O. T. in which this phrase occurs is extant in O. L.

Usque ad ultimum terrae: Acts xiii. 47. See § 38.

2. Aperuit sensum: cf. S. Luke xxiv. 45, Aperuit illis sensum; Acts xvi. 14, Huic Dom. aperuit sensum (*g*).

Conuert. toto corde: Joel ii. 12. See § 19.

Respexit humilitatem: S. Luke i. 48.

3. Terra capt. meae: 2 Chron. vi. 37, and passim.

Retributio: Echo of Ps. cxv. 12, Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quae retribuit mihi?

Agnitionem Dei: cf. Col. ii. 2, Ag. mysterii Dei; 2 Pet. ii. 20, Ag. Domini nostri (Aug.).

Confiteri mirab.: cf. Ps. lxxxviii. 6, Confitebuntur caeli mir. tua; also Ps. cvi. 15.

Omni—caelo: Acts ii. 5. *g*, *p*₂, Vg. have *quae sub caelo est*; but Aug., D have *quae est*. No O. L. authority cited by Sab. has *omni* (2).

4. Per ipsum . . . uisibilia et inuis.: Col. i. 16.

Receptum: S. Mark xvi. 19 (*f*₂, *g*, Iren.); Acts i. 11. (*e*, *g*, *p*₂). Vg. has *assumptus*, and so most O. L. authorities.

Dedit illi—Christus: Phil. ii. 9–11. The passage reads thus in *d*, Donauit illi nomen super omne nomen ut in nomine Iesu omne genu flectat caelestium et terrestrium et infernorum, et omnis lingua confiteatur quoniam Dominus Iesus Christus in gloriam Dei Patris. Vg. om. *et* (1). *Dedit* for *donauit* is found in Novatian, Ambrose, Aug.; *Confiteatur ei* in Iren.

St. Patrick had also in his mind S. Matt. xxviii. 18, Data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo et in terra; and S. John xx. 28, Dominus meus et Deus meus.

Qui reddet—facta sua: Rom. ii. 6. Vg. and most O. L. authorities have *opera eius*. *Facta sua* is found in Victor Tun. de Poenit. p. 603 f. Aug. sometimes quotes it *opera sua*. So *g*. Cf. S. Matt. xvi. 27. Tunc reddet unicuique sec. facta eorum (*f*₁).

Effudit—habunde Sp. Sanctum: Tit. iii. 5, 6, Spiritum Sanctum quem effudit in nos honeste (*d*, *e*). So most O. L. authorities. *Abunde f*, Vg.; but Sab. cites *abunde* from Ambrosiaster and four other writers. Other renderings are, *opulenter*, *ditissime*, *abundanter* (*g*, D).

Donum: Acts ii. 38, Donum Spiritus sancti (*g*, *p*₂ Vg.).

Pignus: 2 Cor. i. 22; v. 5; Eph. i. 14.

Filii Dei, coheredes Christi: Rom. viii. 16, 17.

5. Inuoca me, &c.: Ps. xlix. 15, Roman Psalter, except that Cod. Sangerm. has *eripiam* for *liberabo*, which is found in the Hebrew Psalter. Cod. Veron. and others have *eximam te et glorificabis me*. *Glorificabis* is also Hebrew. Cypr., Testim. i. 16, iii. 30, has, *eripiam . . . glorificabis*.

Opera autem, &c.: Tob. xii. 7.

6. Fratribus et cognatis: S. Luke xxi. 16.

7. Testimonium Dom.: 2 Tim. i. 8, Noli ergo erubescere in test. Dom. nostri (*d, e*).

Perdes eos, &c.: Ps. v. 7, Roman Psalter; Vg. has *Perdes omnes qui*, &c.

Os quod mentitur, &c.: Sap. i. 11. Vg., *Os autem quod*, &c. Sab. notes that *autem* is omitted in S: Leo, serm. 38, and in ms. S. Theoder.

Uerbum otiosum, &c.: S. Matt. xii. 36. Here text agrees with Vg. and also with *c*. Other O. L. variants are *de eo rat.* (so R), *pro eo rat.* (so BCF₃F₄), and *eius rat.*

8. Cum timore et trem.: Eph. vi. 5; Phil. ii. 12.

Reddaturi . . . rationem: Rom. xiv. 12, Unusquisque nostrum pro se rationem reddet Deo.

Ante trib. Christi: Rom. xiv. 10; 2 Cor. v. 10. In Rom. xiv. 10, *d, e, f, g* read *Dei*; but *que, r*, Ambrosiast. and Aug. Enchirid., *Christi*.

9. Sermo et loquela: cf. S. John viii. 43, Quare loquelam meam non cognoscitis? Quia non potestis audire sermonem meum (*r*₁ has *uerbum meum*).

Per linguam—ueritatis: Ecclus. iv. 29, In lingua enim sapientia dignoscitur: et sensus, et scientia, et doctrina in uerbo sensati. *m* has, *In ling. enim cognoscitur sap. et sensus et sci. doctrinae in uerbis ueritatis*.

11. Propter retributionem: Ps. cxviii. 112.

Tardiori lingua: Exod. iv. 10, Tardiore lingua sum ego. (Cod. Lugd., Ambrose.)

Linguae—pacem: Is. xxxii. 4, Linguae balbutientium cito discent loqui pacem (Hieron. in Esai.). Vg., *Lingua balborum uelociter loquetur et plane*. LXX, αἱ γλῶσσαι αἱ ψελλίζουσai κ.τ.λ.

Aepistola Christi: 2 Cor. iii. 3.

In salutem—terrae: Acts xiii. 47. See § 38.

Scriptum—uiui: 2 Cor. iii. 2, 3. *d, e, g* have *inscripta*; but *scripta* (Vg.) is read by *f*, Hilary, Aug., and Jerome.

Et rusticationem, &c.: Ecclus. vii. 16, Non oderis laboriosa opera et rusticationem creatam ab Altissimo.

12. Priusquam humiliarer: Ps. cxviii. 67, Prius hum. ego deliqui.

Luto profundo: cp. Ps. lxviii. 14, Erue me de luto . . . et de profundo aquarum. (Cod. Sangerm.)

Qui potens est: S. Luke i. 49.

Retribuendum—Domino: Echo of Ps. cxv. 12. See § 3.

13. Magni—Deum: Rev. xix. 5, Laudate Deum uestrum, omnes serui eius, et qui timetis Deum pusilli et magni (Primas.). *qui tim. eum g*, Vg.

Potentes in sermone: cf. Acts vii. 22, Potens in sermonibus (*d*); *uerbis e, g, p₂*, Vg.

Cum metu et reuerantia: Heb. xii. 28 (*f*, Vg.). *Cum metu et uerecundia d (e, g, que non extant).*

Sine querella: 1 Thess. ii. 10, iii. 13, v. 23.

Caritas Christi: 2 Cor. v. 14, Car. enim Chr. urguet nos.

14. Mensura fidei: Rom. xii. 3, Sicut Deus diuisit mensuram fidei. But in Rom. xii. 6 also, Hieron. and Eucherius read *secundum mens. fidei*, where Vg. with *d, e, f, g*, and other O. L. authorities have *sec. rationem fid.*

Sine reprehensione: These words occur in Phil. ii. 15 (*f*, Vg.). *d, e, g*, and most O. L. authorities have *immaculati*; but Auctor l. de dupl. mart. p. 587 .c. has *sine repreh.* Possibly the words are not a quotation at all.

Donum Dei: S. John iv. 10.

Consolationem aeternam: 2 Thess. ii. 15. *d, e* have *exhortationem*, but *f, g*, Ambrose, and other O. L. authorities *consolationem* with Vg.

Post obitum meum: 2 Pet. i. 15. O. L. not in Sab. *h* has *positis etiam corporibus*.

16. Spiritus . . . feruebat: cf. Acts xviii. 25, Feruens spiritu; Rom. xii. 11, Spiritu feruentes.

17. Responsum: Rom. xi. 4. In §§ 21, 29 (not A), 35 *diuinum* is added. Tycon. Reg. 3 om. *diuinum*.

Uiam meam dirigebat: cf. Gen. xxiv. 40, and passim.

18. Sugere mammellas: Possibly from Is. lx. 16. But see note, p. 287.

19. Inualuit super: cf. 2 Kings xiv. 10, Inualuisti super Edom (not extant in O. L.).

Conuertimini ex toto corde ad: Joel ii. 12. Vg. and Hieron. in Joel read *in toto corde*. But *m*, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Fulgentius give *ex*.

Est impossibile: cf. S. Luke i. 37, Non est imp. Deo omne uerbum (*c r₁*).

Defecerunt: cf. S. Matt. xv. 32, Dimittere eos ieiunos nolo ne deficiant in uia.

Semiuiui relictī: S. Luke x. 30, Semiuiuo relicto *a, ff₂, i, q*, Vg. *Demitto* is the verb in *c, d, e*.

Mel siluestre: S. Matt. iii. 4.

Partem obtulerunt: S. Luke xxiv. 42 (*b, f, q*), *Porrexerunt* is the verb in *a, d, e, r₁*.

Hoc immolaticum est: 1 Cor. x. 28. *Immolatum* Vg.; *Sacrificatum* D; *Immolaticium* *d, e, f, g*.

20. Quandiu—corpore: 2 Pet. i. 13, Quandiu sum, &c. So *h*. Vulg. has *tabernaculo* for *corpore*.

In die presuræ: Ps. xlix. 15. So Cypr. Testim. i. 16; iii. 30; and Acta Mart. SS. Montani, &c. (both quoted by Sab.). In § 5, the more usual *tribulationis* is used for *pressuræ*. In Hartel's ed. of Cyprian *tribulationis* is printed in the text in both places, but *pressuræ* is given as the reading of three or four mss.

In illa . . . Non uos estis, &c.: S. Matt. x. 19, 20, In illa hora, &c. Vg. and many O. L. mss. have *Non enim uos estis*, &c.

21. Responsum diuinum: Rom. xi. 4.

Liberauit me de man. eorum: cf. Gen. xxxvii. 21, Liberauit eum de man. eorum (Aug.).

23. Uidi in uisu noctis: Dan. vii. 13. Cypr. Testim. ii. 26 has *Uidebam . . . nocte*; Lact., Aug., *noctis*; Vg. and Lucif. Cal. have *in uisione noctis*.

Uno ore: 1 Kings xxii. 13; Rom. xv. 6.

Compunctus—corde: Ps. cviii. 17, Persecutus est . . . compunctum corde; Acts ii. 37, Compuncti sunt corde.

24. Nescio, Deus scit: 2 Cor. xii. 2.

Dedit animam, &c.: cf. 1 John iii. 16, Ille pro nobis an. suam posuit (Aug.).

25. Interiorem hominem: Eph. iii. 16.

Stupebam: Dan. viii. 27.

Spiritus adiuuat, &c.: Rom. viii. 26. *Infirmiorem nostræ orationis* is also found in Ambrosiaster, D and *f* (*or. nostr.*). *Infirmiorem nostram, nam quid—inenarrabilibus* is usual O. L. and Vg. For *inenarr.* *d* has *qui eloqui non possunt*; for which *quæ uerbis exprimi non possunt* is found in *tol. fuld. long*, S. Gall 70. The doublet as here is in Cod. Sangermanensis 15: cf. Berger, *La Vulgate*, p. 71.

-Dominus aduocatus, &c: This is a confused recollection of 1 John ii. 1, Aduocatum habemus ad Patrem, Jesum Christum (Aug.).

and Rom. viii. 34, Christus . . . postulat pro nobis (Hil.), the usual O. L. and Vg. being *interpellat*. *g* has both.

26. *Impulsus sum ut caderem*: Ps. cxvii. 13. So Cod. Veron., Moz., and Aug. Vg., *impulsus euersus sum*, &c. Roman Psalter (Cod. Sangerm.), *Impulsus uersatus sum*, &c.

Proselito et peregrino: This may be a citation from Lev. xxv. 23, Ps. xxxviii. 13, or Ps. cxlv. 9. In Lev., Cod. Lugd. has *prosylyti et peregrini uos estis ante me*; Aug., *proselyti et incolae*; Vg., *Aduenae et coloni*. *Peregrinus* is the rendering of *παρεπίδημος* in Ps. xxxviii., both Vg. and Roman Psalter; and in Ps. cxlv., where both Vg. and Roman Psalter (Cod. Sangerm.) have *Dominus custodit aduenas*, Hilary reads *proselytum*, Aug. and Cod. Veron., *proselytos*. *προσηλύτος* is never transliterated in Vg. *Pros. et orphano* occurs in Fastidius' citation of Deut. x. 17 (so Cod. Lugd.), xxiv. 19. *Proselitus* occurs again in Conf. 59, Ep. 1.

Propter nomen suum: Ps. cv. 8, and passim.

Non illis-reputetur: cf. 2 Tim. iv. 16, *Non illis imputetur*. Perh. an echo of Rom. iv. 3, *Reputatum est illi ad iustitiam* (*e, g, Vg.*).

27. *Occasionem inuenerunt*: Dan. vi. 5, *Non inueniemus Daniel huic aliquam occasionem*, &c.

Nescio, Deus scit: 2 Cor. xii. 2.

28. *Donec . . . deficiebam*: cf. Ps. xvii. 38, *Non conuertar donec deficiant*. The verb occurs also in Pss. xxxviii. 12, lxxxix. 7.

29. *Reprobatus*: cf. Ps. cxvii. 22, *Lapidem quem reprobauerunt aedificantes*. 1 Pet. ii. 7, *Lapis qui reprobatus est*, &c. (Hieron. in Esai.). Cf. § 12, "*Eram velut lapis . . . et collocauit me in summo pariete.*"

Uidi in uisu noctis: Dan. vii. 13. See § 23.

Responsum diuinum: Rom xi. 4.

Qui uos tangit, &c.: Zech. ii. 8. Vg., *Qui enim tetigerit uos tangit pupillam*, &c. Both Ambrose and Aug. have *quasi qui tangit*. *m* has *Quia qui tangit uos sicut qui tang. pup. oc. ipsius*. LXX., τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ αὐτοῦ. Tert. and Vigil. Taps. have *oculi mei*, but most O. L. authorities *ejus* or *ipsius*.

30. *Qui me confortauit*: cf. Phil. iv. 13, *Omnia possum in eo qui me confortat* (*f, Ambr., and Aug., as well as Vg.*).

Sensi—uirtutem: S. Mark v. 29, 30, 33.

Fides probata: cf. 1 Pet. i. 7, *Probatio uestrae fidei*.

31. Audenter dico : cf. Acts ii. 29, Liceat audenter dicere ad uos de patriarcha Dauid (Vg. and Fulgentius). *cum fiducia d, e; constanter, g, p₂; audacter*, second hand of *p₂*.

Testem—mentibus : cf. 2 Cor. i. 23; Gal. i. 20. See § 54.

32. Defensionem : cf. 2 Tim. iv. 16, In prima mea defensione nemo affuit mihi.

Dehonestaret : cf. Prov. xxv. 8, Cum dehonestaueris amicum tuum. O. L. not extant.

Maior omnibus est : S. John x. 29, Pater . . . maius omn., &c. So *r₁*. *d* has *maior*.

33. Donum Dei : S. John iv. 10.

Terra capt. : 2 Chron. vi. 37, &c.

Propter inhabitantem Sp. eius : Rom. viii. 11.

Operatus est : cf. 1 Cor. xii. 11, Omnia operatur unus atque idem Spiritus.

Audenter : see § 31.

Caritatem Christi : 2 Cor. v. 14.

34. In die temptationis : Ps. xciv. 9. So Heb. Psalt.; Roman and Vg. have *secundum diem tent*.

Hostiam uiuentem : Rom. xii. 1.

Seruauit—angustiis meis : cf. Ps. xxxiii. 7, where Arnob. reads *ex omn. angustiis eripiet eum*. Cod. Sangerm., *tribulationibus . . . liberauit*. Heb. and Vg., *trib. . . . saluauit*. Cod. Veron. *trib. . . . saluum fecit*.

Quis ego sum, Domine? : 2 Sam. vii. 18.

Uocatio : 1 Cor. i. 26, vii. 20.

Exaltarem—nomen : cf. Ps. xxxiii. 4, Magnificate Dominum mecum et exaltemus nomen eius.

In nouissimis diebus : Acts ii. 17.

In testimonium omn. gent. ante finem mundi : S. Matt. xxiv. 14. See § 40, where the whole verse is quoted.

35. Quae uerbis expremere non ualeo : cf. Rom. viii. 26, Quae uerbis expremi non possunt, quoted in § 25.

Idiotam : see Acts iv. 13, Homines sine litteris et idiotae.

Responsum diuinum : Rom. xi. 4.

36. Numerum dierum noueram : Ps. xxxviii. 5, Notum fac mihi, Domine, . . . num. dier.

Sapiebam : cf. S. Matt. xvi. 23, Non sapis quae Dei sunt (*f, g*).

37. Aurem opprobrium peregr., &c.: Ecclus. xxix. 30, Improperium peregrinationis non audies.

Usque ad uincula: 2 Tim. ii. 9.

Promptus followed by *debitor* in § 38 seems an echo of Rom. i. 14, 15.

Animam meam lib. impendere: Echo of S. John xiii. 37, Animam meam pro te ponam, and of 2 Cor. xii. 15. See § 53.

Usque ad mortem: Phil ii. 30. See Ep. 1.

38. Ad te gentes uenient, &c.: Jer. xvi. 19. The citation here is most akin to that in *m*, Ad te gentes uenient ab extremo terrae et dicent: quam falsa possiderunt patres nostri idola! nec est in illis utilitas. Similarly Aug. l. 13, cont. Faust (Sab.)—*patres nostri simulacra et non est in eis utilitas*. Vg.—*et dicent, Vere mendacium possederunt patres nostri uanitatem, quae eis non profuit*.

Posui te lumen, &c.: Acts xiii. 47 (Is. xlix. 6). So *e*, except that it reads *in lumen . . . in extremum*. *g* om. *in* before *lumen*, and has *ad ultimum*. *d* also has *ad ultimum*. *D* agrees with the citation here, except that it ins. *illis* before *in sal*. *Ad ultimum* is the reading in Conf. '1, 11; *Ad extremum* here, and Ep. 6. *Ad extr.* is both O. L. and Vg. in Isaiah.

39. Expectare prom.: Acts i. 4, Expectarent promissum Patris. *e, g, p₂*. *Promissionem* is Vg. and also O. L.

Uenient ab oriente, &c.: S. Matt. viii. 11, Multi ab or. et occ. uenient. The omission of *multi*, and altered position of *uenient*, and insertion of *et ab austro et ab aquilone*, are found in S. Luke xiii. 29, (*et aq. et austro*). Irenæus similarly mixes the two texts. The text is quoted Ep. § 18 without this insertion.

40. Uenite post me, &c.: S. Matt. iv. 19; S. Mark i. 17. *h*, Ambr. and Aug. om. *feri*, as in CF₃F₄.

Ecce mitto piscatores, &c.: Jer. xvi. 16, Ecce ego mittam pisc. mult., et piscabuntur illos (Tert.); et multos uenatores et uenabuntur eos (Ambrose). Ambr. in Ps. cxviii. (Sab.) reads as here, *Ecce mitto*. Cod. Virc., *Ecce dismitto peccatores multos*. F 3 has *peccatores* here.

Multitudo copiosa: S. Luke v. 6.

Euntes ergo nunc, &c.: S. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. Vg. with *c, e, f, ff₁, g₁, q* om. *nunc*, and reads *seruare* for *obseruare*. *Nunc* is found in *a, b, d, h, n*; *obseruare* in *e* and *g₂*, also *D*; *eas* in *e* and *n*. No ms. has both *ergo* and *nunc* as here. The variant of Boll., *dixero*, is a reminiscence of S. John xiv. 26.

Euntes ergo in mundum, &c.: S. Mark xvi. 15, 16. Vg. om. *ergo*.

Its insertion here is possibly due to S. Matt. xxviii. 19. There are very few O. L. texts of these verses extant; only *c*, *o* and *q*. *a* and *r*₂ are Vg. here, and *aur* is not considered purely O. L. The three O. L. mss. agree in reading, *orbem . . . uniuersae . . . damnabitur* for *mundum . . . omni . . . condemnabitur*. For *Euntes*, *c*, *q*, *aur* have *Ite*. *aur* also has *uniuersae* and *damnabitur*.

Prædicabitur, &c. : S. Matt. xxiv. 14. For *mundo* and *finis* Vg. has *orbe* and *consummatio*. All are O. L. readings, *mundo* in *d*; *finis*, in *d*, *e*, *f*, *h*, *q*, *r*₂; *orbe* and *consummatio* in *a*, *ffi*, *g*₁, *μ* (*per totam orbem r*₁, *r*₂, *μ*).

Et erit in nouissimis, &c. : Acts ii. 17 (Joel ii. 28). Vg. for *fili* (2) has *iuuenes*, and so all O. L. authorities.

Et in Osee dicit, Uocabo non plebem, &c. : Rom. ix. 25, 26 (Hos. i. 10, ii. 21). After *meam* (2) *et non dilectam*, *dilectam* is ins. by *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, and Vg. On the other hand, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, om. *et non mis. cons. mis. cons.* which is in Vg.; but these words are found in Iren., Tert., and Hieron. in Osee.

43. Alligatus spiritu : Acts xx. 22. (Vg.). *Uinctus* is the reading of *e*, *g*; *ligatus* of *d*.

Mihi protestatur : Acts xx. 23. (Vg.). *Prot. mihi* = *D*, *d*, *e*, *g*.

Si Dom. uoluerit : James iv. 15.

Peccem coram : cf. S. Luke xv. 18, *Peccaui . . . coram te*.

44. Quandiu—corpore mortis : 2 Pet. i. 13. See § 20. The addition here of *mortis* is from Rom. vii. 24, *Quis me liberabit de corp. mortis huius*?

Caro inimica : cf. Rom. viii. 7, *Sapientia carnis inimica est Deo*. Cf. Gal. v. 17.

Scio ex parte : 1 Cor. xiii. 9, *Ex parte enim scimus* (*d*, *e*, Aug.) *cognoscimus f*, Vg., Iren., Ambros.; *g* has both.

Quia non mentior : Gal. i. 20.

A iuuentute mea : Ps. lxxxvii. 16.

Fidem seruauit : 2 Tim. iv. 7.

45. Ante temp. saecularia : 2 Tim. i. 9. Cf. Tit. i. 2. Perh. an echo of Acts xv. 18, *Nota a saeculo est Deo omnia opera eius* (*e*).

46. Adiutor : cf. 1 Cor. iii. 9, *Dei enim sumus adiutores*.

Suggerebat : S. John xiv. 26, *Sp. . . suggeret vobis quaecumque dixero* (*e*). *r*₁ has *commemorabit*.

Misertus est . . . in milia milium : cf. Exod. xx. 6, *Faciens*

misericordiam in millia millium (Fulg. & Auct. quaest. Vet. Test.).
Vg. om. *millium*.

47. Praedixi et praedico : 2 Cor. xiii. 2.

Filius sap. gl'ria patris est : Prov. x. 1 ; xv. 20. Υἱὸς σοφὸς ἐφφραίνει πατέρα (LXX) Fil. sap. laetificat patrem (Vg.). So also *m* (a, μ).

48. Conuersatus sum : Acts xxiii. 1.

A iuuentute mea : see § 44.

Circumueni : 2 Cor. vii. 2, xii. 17.

Excitem . . . persecutionem : cf. Acts xiii. 50, Excitauerunt pers. (Vg.). But *d, e, g* read *suscitauerunt*.

Uae homini, &c. : Sab. on Rom. ii. 24 gives a citation from Maxim. Taur., p. 4, g. almost identical with this, *Uae illi hom.*, &c. The quotation is a mixture of Rom. ii. 24, Nomen enim Dei per uos blasphematur, and S. Matt. xviii. 7, Uae illi homini per quem scandalum uenit (*e*).

49. Nam etsi imperitus sum in omnibus : 2 Cor. xi. 6, Etsi imp. sum sermone, sed non scientia, sed in omni manifestatus, &c. (*d, e*). For *omni*, *f, g, r*, Vg., Ambrosiast., Beda, Sedul. read *omnibus*. Vg. also has *Nam etsi*.

Capere : cf. 2 Cor. vii. 2, Capite nos . . . neminem circumuenimus.

50. Dicite—calceamenti : An echo of 1 Sam. xii. 3, Si de alicuius manu accepi propitiationem uel calceamentum (ἐξίλασμα καὶ ὑπόδημα) dicite aduersus me et reddam uobis (vet. Irenaei Interp.). *m* has *Si ex alic. man. acc. pro exoratione uel corrigiam calciamentorum*, &c.

51. Impendi pro : 2 Cor. xii. 15.

Capere : see § 49.

Libentissime : 2 Cor. xii. 15.

52. Necessarios amicos : Acts x. 24, Conuocatis . . . necessariis amicis.

53. Fruamini . . . fruar : cf. Rom. xv. 24, Si uobis primum ex parte fruius fuero.

Impendo, &c. : 2 Cor. xii. 15, Libentissime inpendam et ipse inpendar pro animabus uestris (*g, r*); *intendar* . . . *animis d, e*; *superinpendar ipse pro an.*, &c. Vg.; Ins. *et superinpendam bef. et ipse d, e*, and Ambrosiast.

54. Testem—meam: 2 Cor. i. 23. So *f, r, Ambr., Aug.; meam an. d, e, g.*

Quia non mentior: Gal. i. 20, Ecce coram Deo, quia, &c.

Occasio—auaritia: An echo of 1 Thess. ii. 5, Neque enim aliquando in sermone adulationis fuimus, sicut scitis, neque in occasionem auaritia; Deus testis est (*d, e*).

Fidelis—mentitur: cf. Heb. x. 23, Fid. est qui prom. (*r*); *repro-misit d, e*, and Vg.; also Tit. i. 2, In spem uitae aeternae, quam promisit (*pollicitus est, g*) non mendax Deus (*d, e, &c.*). Ambrose has *fidelis Deus, qui non mentitur. Qui non ment. Deus f, Vg.*

55. Praesenti saeculo: Gal. i. 4, Eriperet nos de praes. saec. malo (*d, e, g*).

Supra modum: cf. 2 Cor. i. 8, xi. 23, xii. 11, and passim.

Pauper: 2 Cor. viii. 9, Propter uos pauper factus est (*D, d, e, g, r*); *egenus Vg., f.*

Neque meipsum iudico: 1 Cor. iv. 3.

Sed nihil horum uereor: Acts xx. 24 (Vg.). Sed nihil horum cura est mihi *d*; Sed neminum rationem facio *e*; Sed pro nichilo estimo animam meam esse caram michi *g*.

Iacta cogitatum, &c.: Ps. liv. 23, Iacta in Domino cog. . . . nutriet (Cod. Sangerm.). Fulg., Leo, Ambrose, Cassiod. have *in Deum*; Aug. and Moz., *enutriet*; Cod. Veron., *Iacta in Dominum curam tuam; et ipse te enutriet*. So Vg., except that it has *super* for *in*.

56. Commendo an. fid.: cf. 1 Pet. iv. 19, Quasi fideli Creatori commendantes animas uestras (Hil.).

Pro quo leg. fungor: Eph. vi. 20, Pro quo legatione fung. in catena. See Ep. 5, where acc. is again found.

Personam non accipit: Gal. ii. 6; Deut. x. 17.

Elegit: cf. St. John xv. 16, 19.

Suis minimis: Echo of St. Matt. xxv. 40, Fecistis uni ex his fratribus meis minimis *g₁, h, r₁, r₂, μ , Vg.; Tycon.*

57. Retribuam, &c.: Ps. cxv. 12, Quid retrib. Domino pro omniae retribuit mihi. So Cod. Veron., Aug., and Ambrose, as well as Vg.; Cod. Sangerm., *retribuere*.

Scrutatur—renes: Ps. vii. 10, Scrutans cord: et ren., Deus.

Bibere calicem: St. Matt. xx. 22.

58. Plebem—adquisiuit: Is. xliii. 21, Pleb. meam quam adquisiui (Cypr. Epist. 63, Testim. i. 12). Cf. Acts xx. 28.

59. Uolucres caeli comederent : 1 Kings xvi. 4. &c.

Filii Dei—Christi : Rom. viii. 16, 17 ; ix. 26.

Conformes—imagineis : Rom. viii. 29, Conformes fieri imagineis filii eius.

Quoniam—Amen : Rom. xi. 36. *d, e, g, m* have *in ipsum* ; but *f, gue*, and other O. L. authorities, as well as Vg., *ipso* ; *d, e* om. *sunt*, which Novat. and Cypr. have. Cypr., Hil., Aug., have *saeculorum*, which Vg. om.

60. Permanebit : cf. Ps. lxxi. 5, Permanebit cum sole.

Qui fecerat—aeternum : 1 John ii. 17, Qui autem fecerit uoluntatem Dei manet in aeternum (Aug.) ; Ps. lxxxviii. 37, Semen eius in aeternum manebit.

61. Testificor—angelis : cf. 1 Tim. v. 21, Testor coram Deo et Christo Iesu et electis angelis. *Angelis sanctis* is from S. Mark viii. 38, or S. Luke ix. 26.

62. Donum Dei : S. John iv. 10.

EPISTOLA.

1. Accepi : cf. 1 Cor. iv. 7, Quid autem habes quod non accepisti?

Id quod sum : 1 Cor. xv. 10, Gratia autem Dei sum id quod sum.

So *f, g*, Hil., Ambr., Aug., as well as Vg. ; *d, e* om. *id*.

ProsELITUS : See Conf. § 26.

Zelo Dei : Rom. x. 2, Zelum Dei habent (*f, g*, Ambr., and Aug.). *aemulationem d, e*, and Vg.

Veritatis Christi : 2 Cor. xi. 10, Est ueritas Christi in me, &c.

Tradidi . . . animam . . . usque ad mortem : Phil. ii. 30, Usque ad mortem accessit, in interitum tradens animam suam (Ambrosiast.). Vg. om. *in interitum*. *d* and *e* (nearly) read, Usque ad mort. acc. parabolatus de animam suam. Dr. Gwynn thinks *in interitum* is a corruption of *ad incertum*, which is found in D and the Latin version of the Commentary by Theod. Mops.

4. Qui facit peccatum, &c. : S. John viii. 34. Om. *peccati b, d*, and Cypr. De Dom. Or. 10. So here, CF₃F₄.

Filius Zabuli : cf. S. John viii. 44, Uos ex patre diabolo estis.

5. Pro quo leg. fungor : Eph. vi. 20. See Conf. § 56.

Lupi rapaces : Acts xx. 29, Intrabunt . . . lupi rap. in uos non

parcentes gregi (Vg.); *rapaces* is found in Lucif. Cal., *graves* in D, *d*, *e*, *g*. *Lupi rapaces* also occurs in S. Matt. vii. 15.

Deuorantes, &c.: Pss. xiii. 4, lii. 5, Qui deuorant pleb. meam sicut escam panis. So Vg. and Cod. Sangerm. in Ps. xiii. Cod. Veron. and Heb., *ut cibum*; and so Aug., *sicut cib*. In Ps. lii. Vg. and Heb. have *ut cib*.; and Cod. Sang. *sicut escam*: but *sicut cib*. is found in some O. L. authorities. Cod. Veron., *in cibum*.

Iniqui dissipauerunt, &c.: Ps. cxviii. 126, Et tempus faciendi Domino, dissip. iniqui leg. tu. (Cod. Sangerm.) Other O. L. authorities have, with Vg., *Domine*. Vg. and Cod. Veron. om. *iniqui*.

6. Aduocauit et praedest: This seems like a citation from Rom. viii. 30, Quos autem praed. eos et uocauit *d*, but *uocauit* is the only reading cited there.

Usque ad extremum terrae: Acts xiii. 47.

Elegit: cf. S. John xv. 16, 19.

Quos ligarent, &c.: S. Matt. xvi. 19, xviii. 18.

7. Sancti et humiles corde: Dan. iii. 87.

8. Dona—Altissimus: Ecclus. xxxiv. 23. Vg. has *non probat*.

Qui offert—patris sui: Ecclus. xxxiv. 24. (*m, profert . . . pauperis . . . percutit fil.*)

Diuitias—inextinguibilis: Job xx. 15, 16, 26. Sabatier's citation from MS. Maj. Mon. is as follows:—Diuitiae inique [Ambr. *iniuste*] congregatae euomentur: de domo eius protrahet eum angelus. Et furorem draconum mulcebit. interficiat illum lingua colubri . . . comedat eum ignis inextinguibilis. The additions of *de uentre eius . . . mortis* are in the LXX. of A, not of B & C. A also reads ἐξ οἰκίας αὐτοῦ, and has θυμὸς δὲ δρακόντων θηλάσει for θυμὸν . . . θηλάσειεν.

Vg. has Diuitias quas deuorauit euomet, et de uentre illius extrahet eas Deus. Caput aspidum suget, et occidet eum lingua uiperæ . . . Deuorabit eum ignis qui non succenditur.

On Sabatier's O. L. text of Job, see Hastings' D. B. iii., p. 50, note.

Uae qui replent—sua: Hab. ii. 6, Οὐαὶ ὁ πληθύνων ἑαυτῷ τὰ οὐκ ὄντα αὐτοῦ. Uae qui multiplicat sibi quae non sunt sua (Hieron.).

Quid prodest—patiat: S. Matt. xvi. 26. Vg. and *g*₁ here have, Quid enim . . . si mundum uniuersum luc., an. uero suae detr. pat.; but *a*, *d*, *f*, *ff*₂ have *totum mundum*. *r*₂ has *hunc mundum*. The insertion in Boll., *se—perdat*, is from S. Luke ix. 25.

9. Non concupisces rem prox., &c.: Exod. xx. 17; Deut. v. 21. *Rem* is not Vg. of either passage. In Exod. it reads *Non con. domum prox. tui*. In Deut. Cod. Lugd. has *Non concup. . . . ullam rem quae fuerit prox. tui*. However, the quotation is certainly from Rom. xiii. 9, where the reading is found in *gig.* and several other Vg. mss. mentioned by Berger, *La Vulgate*, pp. 76, 143. So Aug. (once) and Auct. l. de promiss.

Non occides: Rom. xiii. 9; Exod. xx. 13.

Homicida—adscribitur: This is gathered from 1 John iii. 15, *Omnis qui odit fratrem suum, homicida est. Et scitis quia omnis homicida non habet uitam aeternam in se manentem* (Aug.).

Qui non dil. fratrem suum, &c.: 1 John iii. 14. Vg. om. *fratrem suum*, and reads *manet in morte*. The insertion is found in Tyconius Reg. 6, also D.

Adquisiuit: Is. xliii. 21; Acts xx. 28. See Conf. 58.

10. Secundum carnem: 2 Cor. i. 17, and passim.

Alligatus spiritu: Acts xx. 22. See Conf. § 43.

Perennis uitae, &c.: Rom. vi. 23, *Gratia autem Dei uita aeterna in Christo Iesu Domino nostro*.

11. Propheta—habet: S. John iv. 44 (e); *in sua patria d, ff₂, q, Vg.*

Uno ouili: S. John x. 16. The only O. L. authorities that read *unum ouile* are *δ* and Aug. in Joh. once. The usual O. L. is *unus grex* or *una grex*. But the reference may be to the previous part of the verse, *Et alias oues habeo quae non sunt ex hoc ouili*, since the emphasis here is laid, not on the unity but on the identity of the fold. Mr. F. C. Burkitt does not consider *δ* an O. L. authority, and informs me that *b* and *f* alone read *ex*; the rest of the extant O. L. texts (*a, c, d, e, ff₂, r*) all have *de*.

Unum Deum Patrem: Eph. iv. 6. See 16.

Qui—spargit: S. Matt. xii. 30. So *f, q, h* (nearly), as well as Vg. Some O. L. variants are *aduersus . . . colligit . . . dispargit*.

Unus destruit, &c.: Ecclus. xxxiv. 28, *Unus aedificans et unus destruens: quid prodest illis nisi labor?* cf. Gal. ii. 18, *Si enim quae destruxi, haec iterum aedifico, &c.*

Non quaero, &c.: 1 Cor. xiii. 5, *Caritas . . . non quaerit quae sua sunt*. Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 14, *Non enim quaero quae uestra sunt, sed uos*.

Gratia . . . sollicitudinem in corde: cf. 2 Cor. viii. 16, *Gratias autem Deo, qui dedit eandem sollicit. pro uobis in corde Titi*.

Uenatoribus . . . piscatoribus : Jer. xvi. 16.

In nouissimis diebus : Acts ii. 17.

12. Lupi rapaces : S. Matt. vii. 15 ; Acts xx. 29.

Iniuria iustorum, &c. : Ecclus. ix. 17, Non placeat tibi iniuria iniustorum, sciens quoniam usque ad inferos non placebit impius.

13. Mortem—operantur : cf. 2 Cor. vii. 10, Huius saeculi tristitia mortem operatur.

14. Membra Christi : cf. 1 Cor. vi. 15, Tollens ergo membra Christi, faciam membra meretricis ?

Non solum, &c. : A loose quotation of Rom. i. 32. Gelasius similarly supplies an accusative, *Qui faciunt prava*.

15. Quid—loquar : S. John xii. 49.

Supra modum : see Conf. § 55.

Flete, &c. : Rom. xii. 15, Flere, &c. D, Beda and Sedul. have *Flete*.

Si dolet . . . condoleant : 1 Cor. xii. 26, Si quid patitur . . . compatiuntur, &c.

16. Praeualuit—super nos : cf. Ps. lxiv. 4, Uerba iniquorum praeualuerunt super nos. *Iniquitas iniqui* is found in Ezek. xviii. 20, xxxiii. 12. (O. L.)

Extranei facti : Ps. lxxviii. 9; Extraneus factus sum fratribus meis. So Cassiodorus as well as Vg. *Exter* is the reading of Cod. Sangerm., *Alienus* of Cod. Veron.

Unum baptismum . . . unum Deum Pat. : Eph. iv. 5, 6, Unum baptisma ; unus Deus et Pater omnium.

Nonne—suum : Mal. ii. 10, Nonne Pater unus omnium uestrum ? Nonne Deus unus creauit uos ? Quare reliquistis unusquisque fratrem suum ? (Hieron. in Malac.). Cypr. Testim. iii. 3 has, *Nonne Deus unus condidit nos ? Nonne Pater unus est omn. nostrum ? Quid utique dereliquistis*, &c. Vg. has *Numquid non* for *nonne*, and *Quare ergo despexit unusq. nostrum frat.*, also *nostrum* for *uestrum*.

17. Laboraui . . . in uacuum : Phil. ii. 16, Neque in uacuum laboraui.

Nox—amplius : Rev. xxii. 5, xxi. 4. Et nox iam non erit. . . et mors iam non erit neque luctus (Primas.). *Amplius* is found for *iam* in Iren. and Ambr. *g* and Vg. have *ultra* in both places.

Exultabitis—pedibus uestris: Mal. iv. 2, 3. The quotation is found in exactly the same form in Aug. *De Civ. Dei*. xviii. 35, col. 518, 519. Hieron. in Malac. gives it, *Salietis sicut vit. de uinculis relaxati. Et concul . . . subter pedes uestros.*

18. Uenient, &c.: S. Matt. viii. 11.

Foris canes—homicidae: Rev. xxii. 15.

Mendacibus—ignis: Rev. xxi. 8, Homicidis . . . et ueneficis . . . et omnibus mendac. pars erit in stagno ignis (Primas). *Pars illorum in stagno ignis ardentis, m; Pars eorum in stagno ardenti igne, &c., g.*

Ubi iustus—recognoscet: 1 Pet. iv. 18, Et si iustus quidem uix saluus sit peccator et impius ubi parebunt? (Aug. in Rom.) Vg.—*saluabitur, impius et peccator, &c.; saluus erit* is also found in Aug., D, and h, which last also has *parabit* for *parebunt*.

19. Fumus qui . . . uento dispergitur: Sap. v. 15, Spes impii . . . tanquam spuma gracilis, quae a procella dispergitur, et tanquam fumus qui a uento diffusus est. This is also quoted by Gildas, as Mr. F. C. Burkitt informs me.

Peccatores—epulentur: cf. Ps. lxvii. 3, 4, Sicut deficit fumus, ita deficiant . . . sic pereant pecc. a facie Dei. Et iusti epulentur (Cod. Sangerm.). Cod. Veron. om. *ita* and *et*.

20. Testificor, &c.: cf. 1 Tim. v. 21. See Conf. § 61.

Qui crediderit, &c.: S. Mark xvi. 16.

Deus locutus est: cf. Pss. lix. 8, cvii. 8, Deus loc. est in sancto suo.

APPENDIX

ON THE SYSTEM OF SPELLING ADOPTED IN THIS EDITION, AND ON THE UNIMPORTANT VARIANTS OF THE MSS.

In view of the unique interest attaching to A, and its great antiquity as compared with that of the other MSS. of the *Libri S. Patricii*, it has been thought best to present to the reader, either in the text or in the foot-notes, the word-forms of that MS. wherever it is available.

At the same time it would be unreasonable to burden the foot-notes, except in a very few cases, with details of the deviations in spelling of the other MSS. Accordingly the reader may assume, in the case of the words here subjoined, that the other MSS. present the usual spelling, unless it is expressly stated to the contrary. The mere blunders of the scribe of A are not here recorded, as they have been noticed in the foot-notes. The peculiar forms of words found in A are, with very few exceptions, those found in the version of the New Testament contained in the Book of Armagh. Those not so found are marked with an asterisk.

The numerals refer to the sections of the text.

Consonants Doubled.

missertus, 2; uissibilia, 4; otiossum, 7; ollim; *hessitani, 9; excussatio, 10; missericordia, 12; querella, 13; *intermissi, 17; nissi, 24, 41; uissu, 29; promisserat, 38; Issac, 39; copiossa; dissiderantem, 40; occassio, 54, 55; pussillum, 62.

a substituted for e.

reuerantia, 13.

e substituted for a.

seperauī, 18.

e substituted for i.

incederem (so *rell.* except R); dedici, 9; desertus, 10, 11; itenere, 18, 22; *mammellas, 18; conuertemini, 19; intellegere (so CF₃), 24; expremi, 25; expremere, 35; diligenter; indegentem, 40.

i substituted for e.

dilicta, 2; adoliscientia, 2; adoliscens, 10 (for spellings in other MSS., see further on); nehimenter, 8, 10; cicidit, 20; disertum, 19, 22; interficerunt, siluistre, 19; suscipiunt, 23; gaudibundus, 24; dissiderantem, 40; diliciae, 55; *internicionem (not in N.T.), 55.

u substituted for o.

consulatus, 2; consulationem, 14; inductus, 12 (but indoctus, 62); idula, 41 (but idola, 38).

Miscellaneous.

aepistola, 11, 23 (bis); aeuangelium, 20, 39, 40 (bis); alenigenas, 1; babtizo, 14, 40 (ter); motarunt, 9; oboedientes, 1, 4 (so F₃); pluia, 16; presurae 20; profetam, 5; profetas, 38; spiritaliter (so CF₃R), 4; tanguit, 29 (bis); ihs xpc, ihesus xpistus, xpistiane.

Where A is not available the general consensus of the other mss. has been followed. The spellings, *michi*, *nichil*, common in BF₃R, and *nunquam*, *unquam*, usual in BF₄, have been left unnoticed.

The diphthongs *ae* and *oe* are very seldom written in full in these mss.; *e* or *e* is usually found. In the present edition the A and non-A sections have been assimilated in this respect.

*List of Unimportant Variations.**Confessio.*

1. Patritius B...; diaconem *rell.*...; presbiteri *rell.* R ambiguous;...; Tabernię BF₄; Tabernie C; TaŃnie F₃R...; sedecim *rell.*...; Hyberione B, so also in Conf. 16 (23, 62 *Boll.*)...; custodimus B...; inobedentes F₄...; ammonebant B.

2. apperuit F₃...; adolescentię BR; adulescentię CF₃F₄...; distinguerem C.

3. beneficia R...; agnotionem B.

4. origionem C...; hominum C...; abunde CF₃R...; immortalitatis B.

5. honorificam R.

6. opto F₃.

7. locuntur CF₃R...; mendatium BF₃R...; isdem Dom. CF₄...; euuangelio R, so in Conf. 20...; ociosum B; otium R*...; loquuti B...; racionem B; iuditii R...

8. racionem B.

9. litteras *rell.*...; cumbiberunt CF₃F₄*; comb. F₄ *corr.* R...; inquit F₃...; sensus B...

10. appeto BCF₄...; comparaui B...; adolescens BRF₄ *corr.*; aduliscens CF₄*; adhuliscens F₃...; poene C...; appeterem B...; affectus BCF₃...

11. uerumptamen F₃...; inscitia C...; tardiori lingue *rell.*...; balbutientis F₃*R...; discendo qui F₃* *altered to* discent loqui...; appeterem B...; inquit F₃F₄...; sed sed ratum B...; rusticitatio CF₄.

12. rusticius CF₄...; imposterum B...; alleuauit R...; extimare B; estimare *rell.*...

13. admiramini CF₃F₄R...; nethorici CF₄...; scutamini F₃...; potentis C...

14. oportet F₃...; fidutialiter BR...; uibique CF₄...

15. erumnas CF₃F₄; erunnas R...; iuente F₄...

16. Hyberione B . . . ; peccora F₄* . . . ; oraciones B . . . ; mente C*R* ; m̄te F₃F₄ ; mente is thus written in F₃F₄ in Ep. 12 . . . ; oracionem B . . . ; pigricia B . . .

17. ibi notam C* . . . ; dirigebar F₃ . . . ; nichilo F₄.

18. gubernator C . . . ; appetas B . . . ; audissem *rell.* . . . ; itiner F₃ . . . ; oracionem B . . . ; quolueris C *for* quomodo volueris . . . ; mic dicerent F₃.

19. famis CF₃F₄* R . . . ; cybum F₃ . . . ; saciemini B . . . ; abundat CF₃ . . . ; sumnas F₃ . . . ; hęc die habundanter cybum F₃ . . .

20. Sathanas BR . . . ; uelut B . . . ; Eliam *Boll.* . . . ; euuangelio R . . . ; inquit R . . .

21. dicente F₃.

22. cybum F₃ . . . ; cybo F₃.

23. tribulatas F₃* . . . ; discedere R . . . ; Uictoritiis R . . . ; continenter *Boll.* . . . ; silua C . . . ; hore F₃ . . . ; patui F₃.

24. Deus sit F₃ . . . ; perritissimis F₃.

25. interriorem F₃.

26. tentatus F₃ . . . ; utque C.

27. anxietatem R.

29. memoratus C.

32. magis deleo F₃ . . . ; Cui ergo C . . . ; puplice CF₄.

33. audienter F₃ . . . ; sit Deus F₃.

34. confitenter F₃ . . . ; angustiiis meus F₃ . . . ; adgreder C, aggredere F₄.

35. haudem F₄ . . . ; possimus F₃* . . . ; paupculum F₃ . . . ; creber admoneret F₃ . . .

37. adquesiui F₃ . . . ; euuangelium F₃ . . . ; persecutionis CF₃ . . . ; proptus (*pp*tus) CF₃.

38. ueniente C ; uenientem F₃ . . . ; sumpsit F₃ . . . ; prophetas suas suos F₃ . . . ; conparuerunt CF₃F₄*.

39. polliciter F₃ . . . ; Abraham *Boll.* CF₄ ; Habraham F₃.

40. peccatores *for* piscatores F₃ (so in Ep. 12) . . . ; iterum F₃ . . . ; copioso C . . . ; exortarent CF₃ . . . ; admonet *rell.* . . . ; Euntes ego (1) F₃ . . . ; consummatione F₃ . . . ; prenuntiat F₃ . . . ; Ose F₃ ; Osee F₄, with erasure under last e . . . ; pleps C.

41. filiis cottorum F₃.

42. gentina C ; genetia F₄ . . . ; persecutionum F₃* . . . ; impropria B . . . ; apparentibus CF₄* . . . ; nihilhominus C . . . ; asidue B ; adsidue C ; assidue F₄ . . . ; imttantur B.

43. amitere B . . . ; brithannus B ; britannus F₄* . . . ; sic hoc C . . . ; rerum me C . . . ; pendere laborem C . . . ; ressiduum F₃.

44. illecebras BF₄.

46. gracias B . . . ; irascetur C . . . ; detestatu meo F₃ . . . ; mitit B . . . ; Domini *for* Deum C . . . ; intellegi C . . . ; gratiam B.

47. insuauī CF₃F₄* . . . ; roboranrandam F₃ . . . ; imitemini B ; imitemini F₃.

48. nēmen *for* neminem F₃ . . . ; circunueni B.

49. religiosis B . . . ; altere B . . . ; hornamentis B . . . ; propter spere C . . . ; perhennitatis BF₄ . . . ; minino F₃ . . . ; detrectare F₄.

50. aliqua illorum F₃* . . . ; dimedio C . . . ; precium B.

51. extras CF₃F₄*.

52. commitibus F_3 . . . ; audisse B . . . ; uixerunt BF_3 . . . ; potesta C . . . ; reditum B .
53. quatum ego C . . . ; precium B . . . ; frauamini F_3 . . . ; poterit est Dominus F_3^* .
54. ocasio F_3 . . . ; serarem uestrum F_3 . . . ; nundum B .
55. diuiciae B . . . ; opus F_4 . . . ; circumueniri B . . . ; internationem BF_3 . . . ; ocasio F_3 .
58. amitam B . . . ; ora Deum F_3 . . . ; perseuerentiam F_3 .
59. inimitatus F_3 . . . ; misserissime F_3 . . . ; aspersis C . . . ; filium Dei C .
60. cottidie F_3 .
62. ignoratia F_3 .

Epistola.

1. ab amorem F_4 . . . ; obtabam CF_4 . . . ; et ore *for* ex ore F_3 . . . ; si dignum CF_3 . . . ; suum C . . . ; contemptior C ; contempnor F_4 .
3. presbytero quam ego F_3 . . . ; diillis F_3 .
4. perhenne CF_4 .
6. egegit F_3 . . . ; summa F_3 .
7. adhulari F_3 . . . ; Cristi C .
8. offeret C . . . ; diuitia F_4 *corr.* . . . ; inquit C . . . ; linguam C .
9. his qui non F_3 . . . ; insuare F_3 . . . ; occidis F_3^* . . . ; homicidia F_3F_4 . . . ; extationem C ; exortationem F_3 .
10. perhennis F_4 .
11. cognosunt C .
12. peccatoribus *for* piscatoribus F_3 . . . ; dispicior F_3 . . . ; consumma C . . . ; istorum C
13. orreat F_3 . . . ; cybum F_3 .
14. membris F_3 . . . ; damnandi F_3 .
15. aecclesia C . . . ; gladios F_4^* . . . ; abundat BF_3 .
16. tristicia B . . . ; speciosissime C ; spetiosissimi B . . . ; Yberia B . . . ; unusquisque C .
17. ineffabilem F_3 . . . ; gracias B . . . ; paradysum B .
18. Martiribus F_3F_4 . . . ; ysaac B . . . ; canis F_3 . . . ; homicidie F_3 . . . ; par F_3 .
19. Cristri C . . . ; Cristo CF_3F_4 .
20. quo ita erit F_3 . . . ; eim C . . . ; loquutus B .
21. queso BF_3 . . . ; promptus B ; promptus C . . . ; literarum B . . . ; subtrahatur ammine F_3 . . . ; inpie F_3 .

NOTE ADDED IN PRESS.

After the Latin text of this edition had been printed, Professor Bury kindly communicated to me the following note on p. 240, l. 15:—
 “I take *sugere mammellas* to be an interesting piece of evidence for a primitive ceremony of adoption. It is the custom among some peoples, in adopting children, to go through the form of a mock birth. (See J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ed. 2, vol. i., p. 21.) In some cases, the child to be adopted is placed under the gown or dress of the adoptive mother, and has to creep out—a make-believe birth. The existence of such ceremonies justifies us in supposing that the phrase *sug. mamm.* arose out of a make-believe suckling, and meant, ‘to be adopted by.’ It will be admitted that this gives just the required sense in the Confession. It need not be inferred that any of the men proposed literally to ‘adopt’ Patrick; it may mean no more than ‘I refused to enter into a close intimacy with them.’ Just as we say, ‘I had no intention of letting myself be adopted by them.’”

In addition to the above, Professor Bury sent me the following corrections:—

P. 238, l. 6. *Sed si itaque*, &c.—“It seems to me that *Uerumtamen* begins a new sentence. The words *Sed si—caeteris* are a complete sentence expressing a wish: ‘But if only it had been given to me, &c.’—grammatically an aposiopesis. Following this, *uerumtamen* expresses what the context demands: ‘Nevertheless, though it was not so given,’ &c.”

P. 239, l. 5. “I think you must have felt that the verbal sense which your rendering of this difficult passage gives is unsatisfactory, as *doctrine* is quite irrelevant to the context. I used to think that *distinguere* must be corrupt, some meaning like ‘endeavour’ being required; but I have since come to think that the author used it in the sense of ‘decide’ (for the natural transition from ‘distinguish’ to ‘decide’ or ‘determine’ cp. *cerno*, *κρίνω*, &c.); the following infinitives depend on it: ‘Depending then on the measure of my religious faith, it behoves me to decide to spread,’ &c.”

P. 239, l. 7. “I should like you to reconsider your translation of *fiducialiter* as if it were *confidenter*. It seems to me to be much stronger. In juxtaposition with *exagallias*, I have no doubt that P. was fully conscious that it was a legal term. It might be rendered ‘as a trust.’ Though not *legis peritus*, he shows here that he knew some legal terms.”

INDEX OF BIBLICAL REFERENCES.

The numbers refer to the sections of this edition.

An asterisk prefixed indicates that the reference is only to a single word, or that the citation is indirect or somewhat uncertain.

The Psalms are numbered as in the Vulgate.

Phrases that occur more than twice in the Bible are not noticed in this Index.

- *Gen. xxxvii. 21—Conf. 21.
- Exod. iv. 10—Conf. 11.
- Exod. xx. 6—Conf. 46.
- Exod. xx. 13, 17—Ep. 9.
- *Lev. xxv. 23—Conf. 26, Ep. 1.
- Deut. v. 21—Ep. 9.
- 1 Sam. xii. 3—Conf. 50.
- 2 Sam. vii. 18—Conf. 34.
- *1 Kings xxii. 13—Conf. 23.
- Tob. xii. 7—Conf. 5.
- Job xx. 15, 16, 26—Ep. 8.
- Ps. v. 7—Conf. 7.
- Ps. vii. 10—Conf. 57.
- Ps. xiii. 4—Ep. 5.
- *Ps. xvii. 38—Conf. 28.
- *Ps. xxxiii. 4, *7—Conf. 34.
- Ps. xxxviii. 5—Conf. 36.
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- Ps. xlix. 15—Conf. 5, 20.
- *Ps. lii. 5—Ep. 5.
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- Ps. lix. 8—Ep. 20.
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- Ps. lxvii. 3, 4—Ep. 19.
- Ps. lxviii. 9—Ep. 16.
- Ps. lxviii. 14—Conf. 12.
- *Ps. lxxi. 5—Conf. 60.
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- *Ps. lxxxviii. 6—Conf. 3.
- Ps. lxxxviii. 37—Conf. 60.
- *Ps. xciv. 9—Conf. 34.
- *Ps. cvi. 15—Conf. 3.
- *Ps. cvii. 8—Ep. 20.
- *Ps. cviii. 17—Conf. 23.
- Ps. cxv. 12—Conf. 3, 12, 57.
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- *Ps. cxlv. 9—Conf. 26.
- Prov. x. 1, & xv. 20—Conf. 47.
- *Prov. xxv. 8—Conf. 32.
- Wisd. l. 11—Conf. 7.
- Wisd. v. 15—Ep. 19.
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- Ecclus. vii. 16—Conf. 11.
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- Ecclus. xxxiv. 23, 24—Ep. 8.
- *Ecclus. xxxiv. 28—Ep. 11.
- Is. xxxii. 4—Conf. 11.
- Is. xlii. 25—Conf. 1.
- Is. xliii. 21—Conf. 58; Ep. 9.
- Is. xlix. 6—see Acts xiii. 47.
- Is. lix. 13—Conf. 1.
- *Is. lx. 16—Conf. 18.
- Jer. xvi. 16—Conf. 40; Ep. 11.
- Jer. xvi. 19—Conf. 38.
- *Ezek. xviii. 20, *xxxiii. 12—Ep. 16.
- Dan. iii. 87—Ep. 7.
- *Dan. vi. 5—Conf. 27.
- Dan. vii. 13—Conf. 23, 29.
- *Dan. viii. 27—Conf. 25.
- Hos. i. 10, ii. 24—see Rom. ix. 25, 26.
- Joel ii. 12—Conf. 2, 19.
- Joel ii. 28—see Acts ii. 17.
- Hab. ii. 6—Ep. 8.
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- S. Matt. viii. 11—Conf. 39; Ep. 18.
- S. Matt. x. 19, 20—Conf. 20.
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